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HISTORY OF THE HEBREW NATION.

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

HEBREW NATION:

FROM ITS FIRST ORIGIN

TO THE

PRESENT TIME.

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PREFACE.

THE history of the Hebrew people possesses an interest and importance which belongs to no other. Not only do their annals excel those of all other nations in their antiquity and truth,—in the magnitude and wonderful character of the events related in them,—and in the simplicity and beauty of their style; but they especially challenge the serious attention of mankind from the circumstance, that they contain the records of a people, among whom God has condescended to reveal almost the entire of what is known concerning himself, and whom he hath chosen to be the conduits of his mercy to all the families of the earth. Their history moreover is replete with lessons of instruction; for which it was indeed designed.* Herein the moralist and philosopher may behold the most striking illustrations of the depravity of the human heart, and of the misery which attends apostacy from God; herein the statesman and the politician may discover the true secret of the wealth and prosperity of nations, with the only sound principles of good government; every departure from which he will find visited sooner or later with national chastisements and perplexity. These therefore are the great facts and principles, which I have endeavoured to keep in view in the progress of this volume; being persuaded that the naturalist, who should satisfy himself with describing animals from the stuffed skins of them which he finds in the Museum, instead of considering their habits, functions, and peculiarities from living specimens, would not produce a work more wanting of reality and life, than a history of Israel would be, in which either the principles above-mentioned should be lost sight of, or the miracles and wonderful interpositions of Providence with which the Hebrew chronicles abound.

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* 1 Cor. x. 11. Rom. xv. 4.

In other respects the composition of a history of times with which we are not contemporary, is but a compilation of facts made ready to our hands by others. The only questions of importance in such case are, whether the writer has consulted the best authorities, and has exercised due caution and discrimination in selecting his materials. In regard to the former of these points, it will save much trouble both to the reader and myself, and likewise redeem the space required by constant references, if I here mention the writers whom I have principally followed. The holy scriptures form the chief records of Israel down to their return from Babylon. There are notices of circumstances, connected with this period of their history, in those ancient writers Sanchoniatho, Berosus, Manetho and others, whom I have quoted when their testimony is either curious or important. A valuable service has in this respect been performed for the student of history, by R. P. Cary, Esq. of Cambridge, who has collected into one volume all the existing fragments of genuine profane antiquity, together with the different Greek or Latin readings of the several authors, in whose works they are quoted from the original. For the period extending from the restoration of the Jews from Babylon, down to the subversion of their polity by Titus, I have followed Josephus, the writer of the first book of Maccabees, and Philo, who are all Jewish historians. I am indebted also to the labors of Dr. Prideaux, in his Connexion of Profane with Sacred History; besides the notices of the later portion of those times to be found in the Roman historians. Of the period after the dispersion down to the Protestant Reformation, the third, sixth and seventh books of Basnage form the substratum; but numerous other authorities are here interwoven. For the last period, viz. from the Reformation down to the present time, I have been compelled to draw my materials from so many sources, that I hardly know how to specify one more than another. In all instances, however, where I have not here *named* my authorities, I have given the references to them in the body of the work; and when the occasion has seemed to call for it, I have inserted the references even to those authorities which are here mentioned.

But though I am necessarily indebted to the labors of others for my facts, I have endeavoured throughout to form my own independent judgment of the real character of those facts, and of the inferences to be drawn from them. Friends, whose opinions I highly respect, have advised me to be as brief as possible in those portions of the history with which the public is supposed to be familiar, through the medium of the holy scriptures; and to enter more into detail in those periods, for which we are obliged to have recourse exclusively to profane records. I have felt constrained however to go contrary to these suggestions: for without stopping to inquire whether Christians in general are really so familiar with the sacred chronicles, as some would give them credit for being; and whether, in regard to the New Testament portion of the history, we ought not likewise to consider the Jews, (by some of whom I have reason to expect the present volume will be perused;) it appears to me erroneous in principle to pass cursorily over those portions of the history on which we can best rely,—and from which we can infer the mind of God, in his dealings with his people, on authority not to be disputed,—and to enlarge only when we quit the field of inspired writ, and launch into an ocean of authorities, many of which are of a questionable character, and from none of which can the purposes of God be inferred with the like certainty. For reasons which have appeared to me equally weighty, I have given larger biographical notices of the earlier patriarchs, than friends have recommended. For a strange notion has obtained with many, that the perverseness and hardness of the Hebrews, in their wilderness-state and subsequently, arose from a something constitutional, or from the inveterate prejudices of education, derived from their fathers, the counterpart of which is no where else to be found in the human race; whereby such persons deprive themselves of the benefit to be derived from the due consideration of their conduct, and of the chastisements with which God has at different periods visited them. But though I have considered it important to relate such incidents of the fathers, as will place their character in a proper point of view, I have nevertheless studied brevity and conciseness in this matter: which indeed has been my aim throughout the work,—often, I fear, to the prejudice of the history: but a necessity has been laid upon me, of compressing the events, which have principally affected Israel for nearly four thousand years, into the compass of a single volume.

The *chronology* adopted in this work likewise requires a few observations. In order to save myself the labour of investigation, it was my original intention to have followed that published a few years since, by W. F. Clinton, Esq, in the Appendix to Vol. I. of his Fasti Hellenici. In the course, however, of checking the computation as I went on, I discovered an error; and as this induced me to consider the whole subject, I was finally led to adopt the *Hebrew* chronology (rejected by Mr. Clinton,) from the conviction at which I arrived, that it is in the main correct; though I have still followed him in his corrections of the chronology of the kings of Judah and Ephraim, the obscurities of which he has admirably cleared up. To the principal difficulties of this subject I must briefly advert.

There are two chasms in the scripture chronology, occurring between the Exodus and the reign of David. The first is from the death of Moses to the end of the time of "the elders who overlived Joshua." The second is from the death of Samson to the election of Saul. The obscurity of these periods, and indeed of the whole intervening space from Moses to David, is increased by the following difficulty. In 1st Kings vi. 1. it is stated, that Solomon began to build the house of the Lord in the *four hundred and eightieth* year after the children of Israel had come out of Egypt, and in the fourth year of his reign. But in Acts xiii. 18—22, Paul makes the same period different, viz. 40 years for the sojourning in the wilderness, 450 years for the times of the judges, and 40 years afterwards for David, making together 530 years. He omits to specify the duration of the term between Moses and the Judges, though he mentions the term itself, saying, "And when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, he divided their land to them by lot; and *after that* he gave judges about the space of 450 years, until Samuel the prophet." If we allow seven years for this space, and add 43 years more for the declared period from the beginning of David's reign to the fourth year of Solomon, we have 580 years for the whole term, instead of 480.

Now those who follow 1 Kings vi. 1, as a genuine text, adjust the two periods of obscurity to suit the term therein mentioned, and have different modes of explaining Acts xiii. 18—22. Those, on the other hand, who consider the apostle as assigning the true date, are compelled to regard the texts in 1 Kings vi. as corrupt, and therefore lengthen the details of the whole term to suit their hypotheses. They have also the countenance of the Greek version and of Josephus.*

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* The mistake of Mr. Clinton, though he contends for the longer period, nevertheless *shortens* the first chasm beyond what appears to be just. From the death of Moses he allows 5 years for the conquest and division of Canaan, and 25 years for the remainder of Joshua's time, making together 30 years. But he ultimately marks down for this chasm, which reaches to the first servitude of Israel, only 27 years, including *besides* the remaining term of the elders that overlived Joshua. At the least 10 years ought to be added for these, when it is considered that not one of them could have been twenty years of age

Now the date in 1 Kings vi. 1, is mentioned with great particularity; whereas Paul, on the contrary, does not affect accuracy, but uses to each period he mentions the word ‘ως (e. g. ‘ως ετεσι τετρακοσιοις—‘ως τεσσαρακοντα ετῆ,) which ‘ως Beroaldus translates *quasi*, and contends that Paul designedly uses it to avoid the difficulties of the subject, (Gamaliel and other rabbins taking different views of the periods of servitude,) just as a man would do, who desired not to weaken his argument on more important matters by exciting needless controversy or prejudice.* If therefore we adopt the longer period, it is at the serious alternative of declaring a text to be corrupt or spurious, which is explicit on the point, and of adopting as the accurate computation one which seemingly studies to be vague. Moreover 1 Kings vi. does correspond with another term mentioned roundly in Judges xi. 26, where Jephthah states that they had possessed the country of the Amorites from Arnon to

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at the time when the land was searched. (See Numbers xiv. 29—31.) The 5 years also which Mr. Clinton allows for the division of the lands is not sufficient; for it was in the *second* year of the Exodus that the spies were sent out, when Caleb was 40 years old; and he was 85 years old when he claimed Hebron for his inheritance. (Josh. xiv. 7 and 10.) If therefore to 40 years 38 be added for the remainder of the wilderness-term, 7 years remain to make up the 85 years of Caleb's age at the time alluded to. (See the Fasti Hellenici, pages 294—302.) In the note (s) of the latter page, Mr. Clinton further states that "the time of the *death* of Joshua is not assigned:" But his *age* at the time of his death is, and stated to be 110 years; (Josh. xxiv. 29. Judges ii. 8;) and if, as Mr. Clinton supposes, he was of the same age as Caleb when they went forth as spies, he must have overlived Moses 32 years. One circumstance however renders it doubtful, if Joshua could have been 40 years old at that time; viz. in Exod. xxxiii. 11, and Numb. xi. 28, Joshua is called " a young man," נער, signifying a *boy* or *lad;* and though some latitude must be allowed for the expression, it nevertheless appears preposterous to speak of a man of 40 years of age as a *lad*.

* Beroaldus. Chron. lib. iii. c. 4.

Jabbok for "*about* 300 years;" which sum it is difficult to accommodate to the longer term without violence to the scripture text. Besides this, there is to my mind a conclusive argument on this subject derived from the genealogies contained in Matthew and Luke. From Rahab the harlot (who was the mother of Boaz and the contemporary of Joshua) to Solomon inclusive was only five generations; and it is utterly impossible to reconcile the longer period with the probable ages of the intermediate parties,—Boaz, Obed, Jesse and David; which must, in that case, have averaged upwards of 130 years each.*

I have only finally to observe, in regard to this History, that I have not sought the undertaking of myself; that I am sensible of my own inadequacy for so responsible a task; and that in the same spirit of prayer and dependance upon God which this conviction has led me to aim at, whilst pursuing the work, I now send it forth to the public, humbly beseeching that through Divine mercy it may be made useful to the Church of Christ.

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* The reader who would see more of this subject is referred to the work of Mr. Clinton already quoted; to the communications of Mr. W. Cuninghame and Mr. J. Cullimore, in the "Morning Watch;" and to the papers of the latter gentleman in Fraser's Magazine for May and October of 1836, in which much learned research is brought to bear upon sacred chronology in general, and the genuineness of 1 Kings vi. 1. is ably vindicated. It is to be regretted that the papers of Mr. Cullimore are not collected and published by themselves.

ERRATA.

Page 5, last line of Note; for "suppose Elam to be Elymais," read "suppose it be some other place."

Page 150, last line but two of Note; for "lay *north* of it," read "lay *south* of it."

Page 176, second line of Note; for "*before Christ* 578," read "*before Christ* 587."

HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PATRIARCHAL PERIOD.

[A.M. 2083.] THE history of the Hebrew or Israelitish nation properly commences with the divine call of Abram, who, by infallible authority, is declared to be "the rock from whence it was hewn, and the hole of the pit from whence it was digged." Isa. li. 1.

God at this time appeared to Abram, and directed him to leave his country and his kindred, and to go forth into a land which he would shew him. He likewise encouraged him by precious promises; but as these were afterwards greatly amplified, it will prevent unnecessary repetition, if the sum of what was covenanted, on all the various occasions when God manifested himself, be at once recited. It was as follows: that God would bless Abram, and make him a blessing; that he would give to him one seed pre-eminently, through whom all the families of the earth should be blessed; that he should likewise have an offspring innumerable as the stars of heaven, and the sand which is by the sea-shore; so that he should become a great nation and the father of many nations; that his seed should possess the gate of their enemies, and that both to him and them the Lord would give the land, which he purposed to shew him, for an everlasting possession. The land granted was from the Euphrates on the east to the Mediterranean on the west; and from Lebanon, inclusive, on the north, to the river of Egypt on the south. (Gen. xv. 18. Deut. xi. 24. Josh. i. 4.)

Of the history of Abram previous to his call we know but little: much is indeed related of him by the oriental writers; but their narratives are, for the most part, disfigured by extravagant legends; and what they contain of truth is manifestly derived from the holy scriptures, the only authentic record of those times. From these we learn that Abram was a younger son of Terah, (who was the ninth from Noah in the line of Shem;) that he resided first at Ur of the Chaldees, and then at Haran, until the death of his father; and that he was seventy-five years of age when he quitted his country and kindred for the land of Canaan.

As the country from which Abram originally sprang was Chaldea, the circumstance that he is nevertheless called always in the scriptures a Syrian or a Hebrew, seems first to require explanation. The whole country between the Tigris and the Jordan appears to have been designated in those times by the general name of *Syria*, comprehending several distinct regions, as Mesopotamia or Chaldea; the territory of the Damascenes, which stretched to the shores of the Mediterranean, north of Palestine; and at a subsequent period the territory of the Ammonites, whose capital was Rabbah.[1] Abram therefore was a *Syrian* in regard to the general name of the country, and a *Chaldean* with respect to the particular region of it.[2] The term *Hebrew* is by many suppposd to be derived from Eber, the great-grandson of Shem; but there is no apparent reason why Abram and his posterity should have been called after an ancestor six generations removed from him, and of whom nothing particular is recorded. There is no evidence that any of the intermediate generations, between Eber and Abram, were called Hebrews: and what is still more conclusive against this origin of the name, the kindred of Abram who remained in Mesopotamia, as Nahor, Laban, &c., are always called Syrians, and not Hebrews. (Gen. xxv. 20; xxviii. 5; xxxi. 20, 24.) The word *Heber* (עבר) signifies *one from beyond*, or *one that passes through, or over*. The Septuagint renders it περατη, a *stranger, foreigner, or wanderer;* and this agrees exactly with the character which the Patriarchs give of themselves, viz. that they were "strangers and pilgrims in the earth;" and with the fact that Moses calls Canaan "the land in which they were strangers," "the land of their pilgrimage.

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[1] *Aram*, the younger son of Arphaxad, was the ancestor of the Syrians, having emigrated into those regions from Kir in Iberia. In the Hebrew, the word translated *Syrians* is always *Aramæans*, and Padan-*aram* should therefore, for consistency's sake be rendered Padan-of-*Syria*. The name *Syrians* or *Cyrians* is derived, it has been supposed from Cyr or Kyr, the place the Aramæans came from. They settled in the first instance in Mesopotamia, (called in Greek Συρια Μεσοποταμια,) but afterwards crossed the Euphrates, and took possession of the country between that river and the Jordan.

[2] Abram would seem also to have resided at some period or other at Damascus; for he speaks of Eliezer of Damascus, his steward, as having been born in his house. Gen. xv. 2, 3.

Upon quitting Mesopotamia for Canaan, Abram was accompanied by Lot the son of his elder brother Haran, who was deceased.[1] They pursued the occupation of shepherds; and, like the Nomadic tribes of those regions in the present day, they wandered from one station to another, according as the want of pasture for their flocks, or some other consideration of necessity or convenience, induced them to remove. Their manners and habits appear also, in other respects, to have been characterized by the simplicity of pastoral life: their wives and daughters prepared their food, fetched water from the well, spun wool and made garments; whilst they and their sons tended the flocks: none thought it a degradation to be engaged in the useful and laborious offices of life.

It is not certainly known what was the religious character of Abram previous to his call. Chaldea is by some supposed to have been the earliest seat of idolatry; and Terah, the father of Abram, is by the Arabian authors asserted to have been a maker of images for worship and divining, after whom they derived the name of *Teraphim.* It is certain that Terah served other gods than Jehovah; (Josh. xxiv. 2.) and equally so that images, or teraphim, were, at a later period, used in the family of Laban, his descendant by the line of Nahor. (Gen. xxxi. 30, 34.)

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[1] It is evident that Abram was not the *eldest* son of Terah: for Terah is said to have begotten sons when he was 70 years old, and to have died at the age of 205; whereas Abram was only 75 years old, when his father died; reckoning backward from which period it is plain, that Terah must have been 130 years old when Abram was born, Compare Gen. xi. 26, 32; xii. 4; and Acts vii. 4. As to the circumstance of Abram being mentioned first in the enumeration of the sons of Terah, it is the manner of scripture to name first the most eminent. Thus Shem, Ham, and Japhet are enumerated as the sons of Noah; (Gen. x. 1,) and yet, from Gen. x. 21, we learn that Japhet was the leader.

But whether Abram was tainted by these superstitions cannot be ascertained: he was at all events kept undefiled from them subsequent to his call; and the Lord Jehovah became the supreme object both of his worship and his confidence.

After Abram had sojourned some time in Canaan, the cattle of himself and nephew had, through the blessing of God, so prodigiously increased, as to require a multitude of servants to look after them; and repeated quarrels ensued between their several dependants, whilst seeking water and pasture for the flocks of their respective masters. Abram, perceiving that this strife was only to be prevented by their separation, generously offered to Lot the choice of location, determining himself to remove in an opposite direction. Lot, without deferring to his uncle, and with a culpable disregard of the character of the inhabitants, fixed upon the plain of Sodom; a choice which he had afterwards frequent reason to repent. Soon after his removal a war broke out between Chedorlaomer, king of Elam,[1] supported by three confederate princes, and Bera, king of Sodom, who with four other chiefs had revolted from Chedorlaomer. The king of Elam, falling suddenly upon Bera and his allies, defeated him, plundered the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, and withdrew, carrying away Lot a prisoner, and all his cattle. When Abram however was apprised of this event, he immediately armed those of his servants who were chiefly to be depended on, to the number of three hundred and eighteen;[1] and with those who were at hand of three neighbouring chiefs, confederate with Abram, (Mamre the Amorite, and the brothers Eshcol and Aner,) he pursued swiftly after them, and, surprising them by night, completely routed them, recovered Lot, together with the whole of the captives and the spoil, and returned victorious to Mamre.

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[1] Some suppose Elam to be Persia, from its vicinity to "the dwellers in Mesopotamia," whose king, Amraphael, was leagued with Chedorlaomer on this occasion. Elam, the son of Arphaxad, was the father of the Persians. Others, however, from the direction taken by the troops in their retreat, suppose Elam to be Elymais.

On his way back, he was met by a personage of whom remarkable mention is afterwards made in holy writ,—Melchisedec, king of Salem or Jerusalem,[2] who united in his person the offices of king and priest. He brought forth bread and wine to refresh Abram, to Shaveh, (i.e. "the king's dale," supposed to be the valley of Jehoshaphat,) and having blessed him in the name of the God of heaven and earth, he received homage from Abram and a tithe of the spoil. Bera, the king of Sodom, gratefully offered to Abram the whole of the spoil as a present, requiring only that the captives should be restored to him; but he was met by a rare disinterestedness and zeal for the honour of God on the part of Abram, who replied to him, "I have lift up mine hand unto the Lord, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth, that I will not take from a thread even to a shoe-latchet; nor will I take any thing of thine, lest thou shouldst say, '*I* have made Abram rich;' save only that which the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men which went with me, Aner, Eshcol and Mamre."

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[1] These 318 are said to have been born in his house, and therefore, according to the custom of those times, they were his actual property. He had numerous other hired servants; and when the usual proportion of women and children come to be added, Abram must at this time have been lord over from 2000 to 3000 souls.

[2] Much has been written, in consequence of a remark of Jerome, to shew that *Salem* was not Jerusalem, but that by *Salim* is meant, the ancient *Scythopolis.* But this not only does violence to the text, by assuming an error in all places in the scriptures where Salem is mentioned; but it is likewise contrary to the geographical probabilities of the narrative. For the route of Abraham homeward from Damascus or Hobah to Mamre (and not to Sodom, as some erroneously state) would lead him close by the spot where Jerusalem was afterwards built, whilst it would not lead him by Scythopolis. The coincidence also of the style or title of the princes of Salem, in the time of Abraham, with those of the princes of Jebus, (which was the same place,) in the time of Joshua, appears conclusive; the one being *Melech-zedec,* or "*King* of righteousness," and the other *Adoni-zedec,* which is *Lord* or "*Prince* of righteousness."

[A.M. 2093.] The faith of Abram was, nevertheless, much exercised, from the circumstance, that after ten years of wandering he still went childless, notwithstanding the promise of a seed. God, therefore, by way of confirming him in the assurance both of the seed and of the land, formally covenanted with him, after a remarkable manner. He was directed to take an heifer, a she-goat, and a ram, each of three years old, with a turtle-dove and a young pigeon. These he divided asunder, (excepting the birds) and placed the one half of each opposite to the other half, leaving a passage between. And at sun-set a supernatural sleep and horror of great darkness fell upon Abram, and he beheld the symbol of God's presence, resembling a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp passing between the pieces.[1]

Besides the renewal of the promise of the land at this time, God also gave to Abram some important information concerning the possession of it. He declared to him that his seed must previously be afflicted for a long period in a strange land; the reason assigned for which delay was, "*that the iniquity of*

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[1] It became afterwards common, both among the posterity of Abram and the heathen, to pass through the divided victims when they made a covenant, examples of which may be seen in Homer, &c. (See Grotius on Matt. xxvi. 28.)

the Amorites was not yet full." This declaration is worthy of particular remark, in a political point of view; for we shall find it to be the principle upon which the Lord invariably acts, when he devotes a people to destruction. Though their sins and their apostacy provoke him to execute wrath upon them, he will nevertheless have their character unequivocally manifested before he actually strikes. They are consequently left to become obdurate; the restraints imposed by his providence are more or less removed, to afford scope for the full developement of their evil principles and natural depravity; and thus they may be centuries even filling up the measure of their iniquity, though in the appointed season they become ripe for judgment, and the wrath follows.

This appears to be a suitable place for some inquiry into the history of those nations, whose land was now covenanted to Abram, and on whom his descendants were to be the instruments of vengeance.

The reader of scripture will remember, that when Noah had planted a vineyard, and made wine, and from inexperience of its potency had drank thereof to intoxication, Ham, his son, was guilty of some gross misconduct toward him, which brought upon himself a curse. Berosus, the Chaldean, gives larger particulars of the transgression of Ham at this time, than are recorded in Genesis; stating that he had a particular enmity towards his parent, and that from his generally abandoned and sensual conduct he obtained the surname of *Essenuus*, which signifies *infamous* and *obscene*.[1] His son Canaan was evidently present at the period mentioned, and seems to have been a criminal participator in his father's conduct, and to have transmitted all his lewd and profligate qualities to his descendants. In fact the curse, as narrated in Genesis, is directed more especially against *Canaan;* from which it is highly probable that he was a prominent actor on that occasion.

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[1] Noah was the *Uranus* of the Greeks and Romans, and Ham the *Saturn*. The classical reader will be aware what Saturn is reported by the ancients to have done to *his* father, Uranus.

At the dispersion of the sons of Noah, Ham went south-west, locating his offspring in various regions; and at length he entered Palestine with his son Canaan and his children, who occupied various portions of the region which extends from Lebanon to the Red Sea.[1]

The whole country was generally called Canaan, from its being thus inhabited by tribes who were descended from his sons or grandsons.[2] At the same time it is evident,—from the circumstance of the Canaanites being often mentioned, as distinct from, and in addition to, these tribes, (see Exod. iii. 8. Josh. xi. 1—4,)—that there was some part of this country more properly called *Canaan*. This is with good reason concluded to be that where Canaan himself settled, and to whom the other kings were tributary ; and was the region stretching from Sidon on the north, and the Mediterranean on the west, to the Jordan, called also Syro-phenicia, the inhabitants of which were, even in our Lord's time, called *Canaanites*. (Matt. xv. 22.) The name *Palestine*, afterwards given to the country, was derived from the Philistim, or Philistines, who were descended from Ham through his son Mizraim.[1]

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[1] It is supposed he entered Palestine at *Hamath,* a region of Mount Lebanon, and which is several times in scripture called "the entering in of Hamath." Judges iii. 3, &c. One of his grandsons was called Hamath.

[2] These nations are variously enumerated in different passages of scripture, according as they are spoken of with reference to their larger divisions, or their subdivisions; some tribes being at certain periods included in others, by conquest or otherwise, and going by their name for the time. (Compare Gen. xv. Ex. iii. Deut. vii. and Josh. xi—xiii.) They are the Canaanites, from Canaan; the Amorites, from Amor or Emor; the Hivites, from Iva; the Sidonians, from Sidon; the Hittites, from Heth; the Jebusites, from Jebus; the Girgashites, from Girgash; the Hamathites, from Hamath. These were sons or descendants of Canaan. To these are to be added the Perizzites, the Rephaim, the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, Arvadites, &c. They are as frequently termed *Amorites* as Canaanites, when spoken of together, that being one of the most powerful of the tribes. See Gen. xv. 16; xlviii. 22. Deut. xx. 17. Josh. x. 12; xxiv. 15, &c.

[A.M. 2094.] Notwithstanding the renewal of the promise to Abram, the medium through which it was to be accomplished was not yet understood; and Sarah, perceiving herself to be now arrived beyond the period of childbearing, without having had the promise fulfilled through her, proposed to give her maid Hagar to Abram. The damsels given to women of rank and consideration in those times, generally at their marriage, were so entirely their own property, that they had the absolute disposal of their persons; and the children which they bore were considered as belonging to the mistress. Abram concurred in the proposal, and the issue was a son born to him in his eighty-sixth year, whom he named Ishmael. An angel of God appeared to his mother just before Ishmael was born, who foretold to her, that the son whom she was about to bring forth should be a wild man; his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him; that he should dwell in the presence of all his brethren; and that God would, through him, so exceedingly multiply her seed, that it should not be numbered for multitude. And among the wonders of prophecy, as avouched by history, is the continued existence of the posterity of Ishmael, bearing the precise character here attached to them. One of the most powerful of the Arabian tribes sprang from Ishmael, and from him were called Ishmaelites. They have ever been a roving people of the desert, plundering individuals and tribes whenever opportunity has offered, and frequently attacked also by their neighbours, who have considered them no better than robbers.[1]

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[1] His son's name was Metsir, or rather Mizor, from whom came the *Mizraim*, or Egyptians. And from Peles, a grandson of Metsir, came the Philistim. He is called in Plutarch (de Isid and Osir) Pelusius and *Palestinus*. The Philistim were also in part descended from Caphtor, an uncle of Peles, whence Jeremiah calls them "the remnant of Caphtor," (chap. xlvii. 4,) but they passed more commonly under the name of Philistim. Brown derives the term *Cherethites* from Caphtor, and says they were Philistines, (Dict.) They are indeed mentioned as a people of Philistia in Sam. xxx. 14, and Zephaniah probably speaks of the same, chap. ii. 5. The *Pelethites* were also Philistines, and as evidently from Peles. Cruden derives the former name from a Hebrew word signifying to *cut* or *destroy*, and the latter from a word which signifies to *divide* or *slay:* but it is more probable that these words derived their meaning from the Cherethites and Pelethites, who were employed at a later period of Hebrew history as life guards and executioners, just as the word *assassinate* is said to be derived from the *Arsacidæ*.

[A.M. 2106.] The erroneous impression of Abram, in regard to Ishmael's being the promised seed, was not corrected until about twelve years after his birth; when the Almighty vouchsafed another manifestation of himself, the circumstances of which were again particularly remarkable. He is given to understand that Sarah, though now arrived at the ninetieth year of her age, shall nevertheless still conceive a son, at about that same season in the next year; and Abram is directed to call this child Isaac, because he laughed in himself, not through unbelief, but with joy and amazement at the promise, which he implicitly believed. He is further directed to change his name, in token of the accomplishment of this promise, from Abram to Abraham, and that of Sarai to Sarah.[1] And God at the same time institutes the rite of circumcision, which he commands Abraham to carry into effect with every male of his household, declaring that those who should not be circumcised should be cut off from his people. This rite of circumcision was

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[1] The Ishmaelites are likewise called *Hagarenes* in the sacred volume, after their mother Hagar; though in later times numbers of them were ambitious of being considered the progeny of Sarah, and from her called themselves *Saracens*. Others derive the term Saracen from the Arabic *sarak*, to plunder, though the word may in this case, as in that of the Cherethites and Pelethites, be rather derived from the people. The Arabian tribes are often confounded in the sacred volume, arising from the same cause noticed in regard to the descendants of Canaan; viz., from the one people having possessed temporary dominion over the other, so as that the vanquished are spoken of by the name of the victors; and sometimes also because two tribes have been confederated together for political objects, and both have then been referred to under the name of the more powerful one; even as in later times the Jewish tribe of Benjamin went in general under the common name of Jews, from its union with Judah. For example, the Ishmaelites are sometimes called *Midianites*, though the latter were in reality the descendants of Abraham by Keturah, his

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second wife, and not by Hagar. From these the Ishmaelites are distinguished, at the same time that they are called Midianites, by the circumstance of their wearing golden earrings, and by the collars, purple and peculiar ornaments of their princes. The Ishmaelites and the Amalekites are also spoken of sometimes as one. For in Gen. xxv. 17, 18, the *Ishmaelites* are located "from Havilah unto Shur that is before Egypt;" whilst in 1 Sam. xv. 7. Saul is said to have smitten the *Amalekites* in those regions. (See also Judges vi. 33.) Further, in Numbers xxii. 3, 4; and xxv. 1, 17. the *Moabites* and *Midianites* are spoken of as if one and the same; but it arises from the temporary lordship of the Moabites over them. And again, in 1 Chron. v. 18—24, these same Midianites, whose land became the inheritance of the half tribe of Manasseh, are called *Hagarenes, Hagarites.*

[1] Names were sometimes historical memorials, as in the case of Isaac; and at others, prophetical assurances of the events foretold. In this instance אב *ab* signifies *father*, and רם *rom* or *ram* is *high;* and the insertion of the ה is thought to be a contraction of המון *hamon,* a multitude, as if *Abraham* for *Abrahamon.* Sarai signified "*my* princess;" *Sarah* is "*the* princess," in relation to the promise to her, that kings of people should be of her.

intended as God's seal to the righteousness of Abraham's faith: and likewise as a further token and pledge of the assured fulfilment of the entire of God's covenant promises in their due season.

A few months after this, another and a greater calamity overtook Lot, which terminates his history, so far as he is personally introduced. Sodom or Gomorrah were not warned by the recent chastisement they had received from Chedorlaomer. The inhabitants of those and of the neighbouring cities are described, as having become already "wicked and sinners before the Lord exceedingly;" and having thus filled up the measure of *their* iniquity, God now proceeds to inflict upon them a signal punishment. He first however, in great compassion to Abram and Lot, sent his angels to deliver the latter from the impending destruction; who was also directed to go and warn all of his kindred, that the Lord was about to overthrow the city. But even the married sons and daughters of Lot had become so infected with the prevailing worldliness, that they treated the announcement as a mockery; and Lot with his wife and two single daughters only were on the following morning led forth by the angels from Sodom, and charged to flee to the neighbouring mountain without looking back. The sunrise of that day is recorded; the guilty inhabitants of the cities of the plain were in motion, and going forth to their usual labour, regardless of their Creator, and without suspicion of the awful catastrophe at hand: when suddenly the heavens were overcast, a torrent of fire and brimstone was rained down upon them, and before that sun declined the busy hum of life was changed into the awful stillness of the desert.[1]

The wife of Lot disobeyed the injunctions of the angel, and met with the same fate as his married children. Lot was likewise stripped by this visitation of all his possessions in cattle; and we know nothing of him subsequently, except that he retired to a cave with his two daughters, by whom, through a device of theirs, which savoured greatly of the principles of Sodom, he had two sons, Moab and Ammon. These afterwards proved malignant enemies of Abraham's seed.[2]

[A.M. 2108 TO 2138.] At length the time of promise came round, and, according to the word of God, Sarah presented Abraham with a son, when he was now about a hundred years old. But when Isaac, the child in question, had attained the age of thirty years, there followed the severest trial to the faith of Abraham ;—perhaps the most severe ever experienced by any fallen human being. God directed him to take this, his only son, and to offer him up as a burnt-offering upon Mount Moriah, which was about three days' journey from where he was resident. Painful must have been the conflict in the mind of Abraham. The special promise of God had been, that through the line of Isaac a numerous offspring should proceed; and especially that pre-eminent Seed, in whom all nations should be blessed. Hitherto he had found God to be gracious and merciful, and abundant in goodness and truth; but here was a command apparently cruel in itself, and directly at variance with the promises made to him. But as Abraham staggered not at the natural circumstances, which were, in the first instance, in the way of the accomplishment of the promise that he should have a child, so now he scrupled not implicitly to obey the direction to offer that child; being equally assured that God, who gave him this son by miracle, would restore him also by a miracle, even by a resurrection from the dead. (Heb. xi. 19.) In this persuasion he journeyed to Mount Moriah; and we hardly know which most to admire, the calm confidence of the father in the goodness and power of God, notwithstanding this trying demand of him; or the pious resignation and filial obedience of the son, who willingly submitted to be bound and laid upon the pile. Just however as Abraham was about to slay Isaac, he was prevented by a voice from heaven; and directed to offer as a substitute a ram, caught in the same moment by the horns in an adjoining thicket. Thus was shadowed forth, in that early period, the offering up of the only beloved of the Father,—that Seed of whom Isaac was the type and earnest; and a promise was given "that in that mount the Lord should be seen."[1]

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[1] The vale of Sodom is now overflowed with water, called the lake Asphaltites and the Dead Sea. Travellers have differed in some particulars in regard to its phenomena, according as their observations have been made with more or less of carefulness and intelligence. The following however have been clearly ascertained; viz: that bituminous masses are at some seasons found upon its waters; that they are nauseous to the taste; that no fish or insect apparently lives in them; that they are so heavy and buoyant that persons wading in out of their depth have found it impossible to sink in them ; and that the whole region round about is desolate and forbidding. Maundrell and other travellers assert that there are still the remains of walls and palaces to be observed in the Dead Sea ; and Strabo gives a circumference of 60 stadia to the ruins of Sodom, as remaining in his time; which are likewise mentioned by Tacitus. See Chateaubriand's Travels in Greece and Palestine, vol. i. p. 401.

[2] Josephus makes excuse for Lot's daughters, that they thought themselves the only persons left alive on the earth besides their father; for which supposition, indeed, there is some foundation in Gen. xix. 31. And it is remarkable also, that Lot appears to have made no effort to repair to Abraham after this disaster; whilst Abraham, on his part, appears to have concluded that his nephew was destroyed.

This transaction, more than any other, procured for Abraham the exalted honour to be called "the father of the faithful;" being not only the great head, with whom the covenant with the faithful was made; but the pattern and example also to them that believe, who are called upon to exhibit a faith of the same nature, or, in other words, "to walk in the steps of the faith of their father Abraham." (Rom. iv. 12.) On this occasion also the Lord gave his testimony: "Now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me."—Not that the great Searcher of hearts needed any proof of this; but because he would have an undeniable testimony of it set before his church. For what God, after the manner of scripture, is said to search, or inquire into, or to prove, is necessarily known before to him; and the inquiry or proof is consequently intended for the instruction and satisfaction either of the parties themselves, or of his people in general.

[A.M. 2145 TO 2183.] After the above striking event in the life of Abraham, there is nothing of particular interest in his remaining history. One of his last acts was to procure a wife for his son Isaac from among his own kindred, dreading the polluted morals of the people among whom he dwelt. By a remarkable providence, Eliezer, the servant of Abraham, whom he entrusted with this commission, was led to the house of Abraham's brother Nahor, and brought back from thence his daughter Rebekah, to whom Isaac was united, when he was now forty years of age. Abraham next, in order to prevent disputes after his decease, portioned all his children by his second wife, (for Sarah had died soon after Isaac's birth,) and sent them away to distant places during his lifetime: and having thus settled his affairs, he died at the age of 175 years, and was buried with Sarah in a cave at Machpelah before Mamre.

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[1] It is agreed by all critics that the words of Gen. xxii. 14, "In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen," ought to be translated, "In the mount (or this mount) the Lord will appear." Abraham also called the name of that place "*Jehovah-Jireh,*" which signifies, "The Lord will provide," referring apparently to the earnest given by the ram caught in the thicket, that God would provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering.

Thus terminates the history of this truly great man, who, through the wonderful simplicity and strength of his faith, has acquired a more real and permanent glory than any other of the fallen sons of Adam. We have seen that, under trials of a most severe and staggering character, he nevertheless so entirely confided in the truth of God that he never faltered. He lived during an entire century in a land which was promised to *him*, as well as to his *seed;* continuing throughout that period as a mere pilgrim or *Hebrew* in it, without becoming possessor of so much territory as to set his foot on, excepting the small spot purchased for a burial-place: yet looking nevertheless stedfastly forward to the city that shall have foundations; persuaded that the God who promised cannot lie, and will hereafter raise him up to fulfil unto him and to his seed all that he has covenanted to perform. He is specially praised in holy writ for "keeping the charge of God;" by which is understood the commandments and appointed worship and rites of Jehovah; and wheresoever he sojourned —whether in the region of Sichem, in the mountain by Bethel, the plain of Mamre, the country of Gerar, or the well of Beersheba, he constantly erected an altar for devotion, and there called upon the name of his God.[1] He is likewise praised for enforcing upon his children and dependants the same worship and obedience to God which he practised himself. This is mentioned as a reason why God would make of him a great and mighty nation—"For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken:" which declaration contains in it therefore the elements of good and righteous government; an intimation of what are the most important qualifications of rulers; and also of the character of that kingdom which the Lord hereafter purposes to establish in the earth, when all nations shall be blessed.

ISAAC.—[A.M. 2183 to 2245.] Isaac proved to be a child of grace, as well as of promise; and to him the Lord frequently manifested himself, and renewed and amplified the promises given to Abraham. The evidence of divine grace in him has already been seen, in his ready subjection to the will of God and of his father on Mount Moriah: but the scriptures likewise, with their usual impartiality, faithfully record the failings and infirmities of the saints; and these are often intimately connected, as in the present instance, with the history before us.

Isaac had two sons by Rebekah, Esau and Jacob, who were twins, born within a few hours of each other, Esau being the eldest. God however had at their birth expressly declared that the eldest should serve the youngest; and though Isaac knew this, yet through that admixture of prejudice, which often is found to alloy the faith and obedience even of good men, he set himself to prevent or frustrate God's appointment. Esau appears to have been the favourite of his father, and for a reason not very creditable to the spirituality of the latter: Isaac loved venison, and Esau being a skilful hunter frequently supplied him with this dainty. Jacob, on the contrary, was the favourite of his mother; the consequence of which partialities was, in the end, much strife and distress in the family of Isaac.

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[1] At Beersheba he is said to have planted a *grove*, and *there* to have called upon the name of his God; which shows that groves were not at this period necessarily prostituted to purposes of idolatry. Gen. xxi.

Jacob, when he came to understand the prophecy going before upon him, was impatient to see the will of God accomplished; and as his father had indicated no intention as yet of diverting the birthright from the usual course of primogeniture, but the contrary, he took advantage of Esau's coming weary into his tent from hunting, and desiring to partake of some particular food which he was preparing, to demand of Esau, in consideration thereof, that he should sell him his birthright: certainly a most unbrotherly and inhospitable condition. Esau however, being profanely indifferent or unbelieving in regard to the birthright, made it over to Jacob.[1]

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[1] It has been much discussed, in what consisted the birthright which Esau covenanted to sell. The following passage in 1 Chron. v. 1, 2, evidently relates to it; but even with this light, I confess the matter is obscure to my own mind. "Reuben was the first-born; but forasmuch as he defiled his father's bed, his birthright was given unto the sons of Joseph the son of Israel; and the genealogy is not to be reckoned after the birthright. For Judah prevailed among his brethren, and of him the chief ruler; but the birthright was

An important endowment, enjoyed by all the early patriarchs, must here be noticed, viz. the gift of prophecy; which gift was specially exercised in their final blessings. Isaac therefore, finding himself becoming now nearly blind from age, and supposing his end to be approaching, resolved without further delay to confer the blessing upon Esau, which would entitle him to all the rights and superiority of primogenitureship; and thus to settle his family affairs. He determined however to have a feast of venison on the occasion, and therefore directed Esau to go and procure some, and to make savoury meat of it; declaring that after he had partaken of it he would bless him.

Rebekah overheard the direction of Isaac to Esau, and forgetting that God can accomplish his will when he sees proper, notwithstanding any seeming extremities to which he may be reduced, she nevertheless hastened at this crisis to seize the promise, by an artifice equally blameable as her husband's neglect. She directed Jacob immediately to fetch her two kids, the flesh of which she so prepared as to imitate the expected venison; and covering Jacob's neck and arms with the skins of the kids, that he might feel like his brother, who was a hairy man, she sent him in to Isaac with the savoury meat, directing him to feign himself Esau. Isaac was startled by the voice, and surprized at the speedy return of the supposed Esau; which Jacob accounted for by falsehood and hypocrisy, declaring that the animal was brought to him by a special providence of God;

Joseph's." *Lordship* over his brethren appears to be the birthright from the above. It may be that Esau had no faith, that the promises of God would ever be performed.

upon which Isaac, imposed upon by the hairy covering and the repeated protestations of Jacob, eat of his meat, and afterwards blessed him, prophetically confirming the early prediction, that he should be lord over his brethren, and that his mother's sons should bow down to him. Upon Esau's return the fraud was of course discovered. Isaac trembled exceedingly, when he perceived how God had overruled him: it was contrary to his fond wishes and intentions; but he knew at the same time that he had uttered the blessing by the Spirit of God, and that it could not be reversed.

The consequence of Esau's being thus overreached was a vehement hatred conceived by him against his brother; and he not only resolved, as soon as his father should die, to kill him, but openly spake of his intention before others, who reported it to Rebekah. Fertile in invention, she has an expedient immediately at hand. Esau had disobeyed the wishes of his parents by marrying two wives, daughters of the Canaanites, against which step Abraham had so strictly charged Isaac.[1] Rachel avails herself of this circumstance, as a pretence for sending Jacob away, hoping that in the meanwhile his brother's anger may abate. She declares to Isaac how weary she is of the conduct of Esau's wives, and how distressed she should be if Jacob were to imitate his brother's example; and Isaac, concurring with her, sends Jacob at once to Padan Aram, to get a wife among his relatives.

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[1] The murderous intentions of Esau toward his brother, and these profane and disobedient marriages with the Canaanites, are additional proofs of his wickedness: though afterwards, when he saw that his wives gave umbrage to his parents, he married a daughter of Ishmael.

The consequences of the events just related, in the way of chastisement, are instructive. Had Isaac simply followed the voice of God respecting his sons, the expectations of Esau would not have been unduly excited, and Isaac would have been spared witnessing the dissension which his own conduct was the means of introducing into his family. Rebekah, in consequence of the part she acted in this matter, suffered great anxiety and alarm on account of Jacob, through fear of violence from his brother; and after she had contrived for him what she intended should be only a temporary refuge, she never was permitted to see this her favourite son again; for she died during his long absence. And as for Jacob, he had to quit his father's house more in the character of an exile than a son, being likewise in fear for his life; and he suffered a bondage of twenty years duration, of which he himself declares, that during it the drought consumed him by day and the frost by night, and sleep departed from his eyes.

JACOB.—[A.M. 2245.] Departing from Beersheba for Haran, Jacob slept on the first night in the open field, having the skies for his canopy and the stones of the place for his pillow. Here, in the visions of the night, God manifested himself to him, renewed and confirmed with him the covenant made with Abraham and Isaac, and gave him promise of protection and safe return. It is worthy of special notice, in the renewal of this covenant, that God makes promise, with regard to the *Seed*, in almost the same terms that he did to his grandfather Abraham: "in *thee*, and in *thy* seed, shall all the families of the earth be blessed." The seed appeared, in the first instance, to be Isaac, who was the father of Jacob and the child promised to Abraham; but here, in a later generation, the promise is still suspended; shewing that Isaac was but an earnest and type of that Seed, through whom the great blessing was ultimately to be accomplished. Jacob was filled with awe at the vision, and setting up the stone which had been his pillow, as a memorial and an altar to God, he poured oil upon it, and vowed to dedicate unto God the tenth of whatsoever he should bless him with. This fact shows the early use of oil for religious purposes; whilst the circumstance of Jacob being provided with it in his flight, looks as if habits of piety were already fixed in him.[1]

On the arrival of Jacob at Haran he was cordially welcomed by his mother's brother, Laban, a subtle and covetous person, who, perceiving that Jacob was a skilful shepherd, proposed at the month's end to give him regular wages for his hire; but Jacob, having become enamoured of Laban's daughter, Rachel, engaged to serve seven years, on condition of having her for his wife at the end of it. The time being expired, Jacob demanded Rachel, in which demand her father seemingly acquiesced, and the customary festivities were prepared; but in the evening of the wedding-day the crafty Laban substituted Leah, his elder daughter, in the place of Rachel. The fraud was not discovered until the morrow; when Jacob, who had so recently overreached a brother, must have felt little entitled to complain, now that he was imposed upon himself. Laban alleged that it was contrary to the custom of the Syrians to give the younger in marriage before the elder; but promised, that if Jacob would fulfil the usual week of ceremonial and festivity for Leah, he would at the expiration of it give him Rachel likewise; conditionally however, that he afterwards served him another seven years. To this Jacob consented, and at the end of another week was the husband of two wives, being the first of the pious patriarchs who practised polygamy; and he, it would appear, only in consequence of the trick that had been practised upon him.

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[1] The practice of erecting a stone as a memorial is mentioned, without any mark of disapprobation, at so late a period as Isaiah; (chap. xix. 19, 20.) though the heathen abused the practice, as they did other things, to superstitious ends. It appears from Arnobius, who lived about 330 years after Christ, to have been continued by them to his times; for he says, "that when he was a heathen, he never saw a stone which had the marks of oil having been poured on it, that he did not regard it as something divine, and offer up his prayers to it as such."—Cont. Gent. i. 1.

[A.M. 2259.] At the end of the fourteen years, Laban was still unwilling to part with the services of his nephew; his flocks having in the meanwhile prodigiously increased. Jacob however was now beginning to be surrounded with children, and therefore desirous to provide for his own family; but he nevertheless engaged to continue his services, on condition that thenceforward a certain portion of the young of the cattle should be his. God now manifestly blessed the portion of Jacob; and though Laban from time to time arbitrarily and unjustly altered the agreement, God nevertheless as repeatedly frustrated his purpose, until the chief portion of the cattle were at length the property of Jacob. The jealousy and envy of Laban and his sons toward Jacob were greatly excited by these circumstances, and their whole conduct and countenance were now altered; perceiving which, and being warned of God, Jacob resolved at length to return to Beersheba; having the concurrence also of his wives, who likewise complained of the grasping character of their father in regard to their own dowry, of which he had deprived them.

[A.M. 2265.] Jacob departed clandestinely, (choosing the opportunity when Laban was engaged in sheep-shearing,) and had got three days in advance, together with his wives, children and cattle, when Laban discovered that he had fled, and in great wrath pursued after him with the men of his household. He overtook him on the seventh day in Mount Gilead; but being warned of God, he entered into a covenant of peace with him, and returned.

But another and a greater cause for disquietude now presented itself to Jacob. He was informed that his brother Esau, to avoid whose murderous intentions he had fled twenty years before, had learned the news of his approach, and was coming against him with a troop of 400 men. Jacob divided his company and flocks into two bands, and strictly charged them, that if the one should be attacked, the other should endeavour to make its escape. He next sent forward a considerable present, for the purpose of appeasing Esau, consisting of 580 head of cattle,—camels, kine, asses, sheep and goats,—each in a separate drove, with an interval between, that they might meet Esau successively; and the drivers were instructed to inform him, when he inquired whose they were, that they were a present to "his *lord* Esau from his *servant* Jacob;"—thus indicating, that however he might have been declared prophetically to be lord over Esau, he had no intention of asserting such a lordship by carnal weapons or by physical force. On moving forward himself, he farther disposed of his wives and children in different troops, putting the handmaids of Rachel and Leah, and the children which he had by them, in the two first divisions; Leah and her children in the third; and Rachel with her son Joseph in the last: so that in proportion as they were most valued and beloved, they might have the greater likelihood of warning of any hostile intention on the part of Esau, and consequently a better opportunity of escape.

But though Jacob deemed it proper thus to exercise the discretion which God had given him, he had nevertheless learned how entirely he was in the hands of the Lord, and that the safety of his family depended upon his favour. He therefore turns to God with earnest prayer; and another vision of an extraordinary character is mercifully granted to him. Already had a company of angels met him in the way; but we are not informed of the special object of their manifestation to him: but on this night, when he was left alone, there appeared to him one in human form, with whom he had mighty spiritual wrestlings until break of day, when he prevailed with him. This celestial personage however took care to let him know, that he had in reality no power at all to prevail, unless it were given to him from above; for in order to afford Jacob a specimen of his might, before he yielded to him he touched with his hand the hollow of Jacob's thigh, and immediately it shrank, and he halted or limped in his gait. The memorial of this remarkable transaction has ever since been kept up among his descendants; in that no Jew eats of the sinew in the hollow of the thigh of any animal. On this occasion also his name was changed; or rather the surname of *Israel* was given to him, because "as a prince he had power with God, and prevailed," which the name signifies; and after this period he is more frequently referred to as the ancestor of the Lord's people than Abraham; and the nation is often collectively called after him "Israel" and "Jacob."

The inquiry is here suggested, Who was the person who so frequently appeared in human or angelic form to the patriarchs, and who assumes the prerogative of deity? We are expressly informed, in divine writ, that no man hath at any time seen the Father. (John i. 18.) It must therefore have been a manifestation of some other person of the Trinity; and the testimony of the earliest Hebrew paraphrasts and commentators is unanimous as to its being the WORD, or Λογος, who thus, previous to his incarnation, is concerned for the children of men and especially for his church. The Targum of Onkelos says on Ex. xiv. 22, "It is the WORD on whom Israel believed, as well as in Moses;" on Ex. xv. 2, "It is the WORD that redeemed Israel out of Egypt;" and on Ex. xxx. 6, "It is the WORD whose presence is promised in the tabernacle." On Numb. xiv. 9, and xx. 24, it declares, "It is the WORD whom Moses exhorts the people not to rebel against." On Deut. v. 5, it declares that Moses was mediator between the WORD and his people; and on Deut. xxxiii. 27, that the WORD created the world, The Jerusalem Targum says, "The WORD of the Lord hath appeared on three remarkable occasions: first, at the creation of the world; secondly, to Abraham; thirdly, at Israel's departure out of Egypt; and a fourth time he shall appear at the coming of Messiah." "The WORD talks with Moses in the tabernacle and the people worship him." (Ex. xxxiii. 9, 11.) "The WORD shall judge the people." (Deut. xxxii.

36.) "The WORD says of himself, that he was, and is, and is to come." (Deut. v. 32, 39.) The Targum of Uziel, supposed to be written during the captivity at Babylon, says, "The WORD went down with Jacob into Egypt." (Gen. xlvi. 1, 4.) "The WORD sits on a high throne, and hears the prayers of his people." Deut. iv. 7.[1] (See Hirschfield's Strictures, p. 78, &c.)

To return however to the history of Jacob, the next morning he moved onward himself, and presently came in sight of his brother. He approached Esau with the lowliness of eastern homage, bowing, or rather prostrating himself, repeatedly to the ground. And now it is apparent that his prayer had prevailed; for the Lord so wrought upon the natural affection of Esau, that he, who came forth with a little army apparently to smite, runs instead and falls upon the neck of his brother and kisses him and weeps. A tone of habitual piety is observable in Jacob's discourse with Esau on this occasion, well calculated to edify the latter. Does Esau inquire after the little ones?—"They are the children which *God* hath graciously given thy servant." Or is it the cattle?—Jacob ascribes his ability to make so munificent a present to Esau, "because *God* had dealt graciously with him." Directly and indirectly the Lord is now acknowledged in all his ways, and that faithful covenant God mercifully directs his paths.

Various circumstances however evince that Jacob, notwithstanding this reconciliation, regarded his brother with uneasiness. The acceptance of a present was, and continues to be with the eastern nations, the pledge of amity and protection: a present refused or left in abeyance betrays a lurking feeling of hostility. Esau at first declined the offering of Jacob. The reason which he assigned for so doing was probably the real one, viz. that he had enough; but Jacob, as if doubtful how long this kindly disposition may continue, urges the present upon Esau, who at length accepts it. Esau then proposes that they shall return together; but Jacob pleads that the children and the young cattle would not be able to keep up with them. And when Esau next offers to leave some of his men with Jacob, the ambiguous answer is, "What needeth it?--Let me find grace in the sight of my Lord." Esau then returned to Seir; but Jacob, instead of following thither, sojourned for some time at a place which he called *Succoth;* and finally took up his abode at Shalem, in the region of Shechem, where he likewise bought a small piece of land of the children of Hamor, and erected an altar to God.

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[1] The first mention of this personage under the title of the WORD in scripture is Genesis xv. 1. "After these things the WORD of Jehovah came to Abraham in a vision." It is also the first time that the mode of manifestation by vision is mentioned. In verse 4, the word *came* is supplied, not being in the original: the verb supplied ought rather to be *spake* or *answered*. At verse 7 it is so expressed—"And He *said* unto him."

Whilst sojourning near Shechem, an event occurred which threatened consequences more disastrous to Jacob and his family, than those which he had apprehended from Esau. It originated in a culpable indiscretion of Jacob, who permitted his only daughter, Dinah, to go unprotected to visit the females of that region. Even in a worldly point of view the step was imprudent, because he had sufficient reason to know that the manners of the Canaanites were in general corrupt and dissolute; but it was especially reprehensible in Jacob, as a worshipper of God, to allow his child (however desirous herself to see the world, or flattered by the attention of its inhabitants) to cultivate intimacies with those who were not under the influence of godliness. The result was that Shechem, the son of Hamor, who was prince of the country, availed himself of the opportunity, and without any scruple violated her chastity. It is worthy of remark likewise, that the person, guilty of this flagrant breach of morality and of the rites of hospitality, is described as more *honorable* than all the house of his father; which only more clearly evinces how little dependance is to be placed upon the principles of a libertine; and that what the world calls *honor* is utterly insufficient to preserve its possessor from a breach of the laws either of God or man, when a suitable temptation presents itself.

The prince however was seized with an ardent affection for Dinah, and urged his father to procure her for him in marriage. The sons of Jacob took the management of this affair into their own hands. They were greatly exasperated; though their anger appears to have been more on account of the disgrace which attached to the family of Israel, than for the dishonour done to God; but dissembling their resentment, in the hope of finding an opportunity for revenge, they listened to the overture; alleging, however, at the same time, that they could not intermarry with them, unless all the males should first be circumcised as they were. Hamor and his son possessed sufficient influence and address to prevail on their people immediately to comply with this preliminary; alluring them with the expectation, that by a more general intermarrying with Jacob's family, their large possessions in cattle would speedily become their own. On the third day however, when the inflammation arising from the operation was at its height, and the men were all in a measure laid up, Simeon and Levi, brothers of Dinah by the same mother, fell upon them with the sword, slew Hamor and Shechem and all the inhabitants, and took away Dinah, who had been improperly detained.[1]

Jacob was greatly alarmed at this result. He perceived that it must quickly become known to the other inhabitants of Canaan, (among whom they were but as a handful,) and that these would in all probability immediately combine for their destruction. But the Lord was still with Jacob, and directed him immediately to return to Bethel, and at the same time he struck the neighbouring inhabitants with panic, so that not one dared pursue.[2]

It is remarkable, as affording a striking proof of the proneness of the human heart to apostacy from God, that even Israel had to call upon his family on his departure to put away their strange gods, in order that they might ensure the blessing of the Lord. Rachel, when she quitted Padan Aram, had stolen her father's Teraphim, and had probably continued to use them; for it was no uncommon thing for those, who were professedly worshippers of the true God, to mingle with that worship certain of the idolatries and superstitions of the heathen round about them.[1] This appears to have been the case with Laban, Rachel, and probably Leah, and now naturally enough, after this parental example, with their offspring. They are likewise said to have surrendered their *earrings* to Jacob on this occasion, which were therefore worn for some superstititious purpose—perhaps as amulets or charms.

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[1] Though Simeon and Levi only are mentioned, the probability is that they were accompanied by servants or followers of their own; and the other sons of Jacob appear to have immediately followed, and to have sacked the city, taking captive the women and children.

[2] It must not be inferred, because the Lord saved Jacob and his family from destruction at this time, that therefore the treachery and vindictiveness of his sons are approved. On the contrary, though a righteous retribution was permitted to fall by the hand of Simeon and Levi upon the house of Hamor, yet in Jacob's dying prophecy, the Spirit moves him to describe this deed in its true character, as regards the perpetrators; and to shew that a curse was upon them in consequence. It is not, however, the manner of holy writ always to comment on the actions it relates; neither does it invariably point out the evil consequences of a departure from righteous principles. Nevertheless those consequences are generally made manifest by a narration of them.

Soon after this event Jacob lost his beloved Rachel, in giving birth to a second child; after which his family consisted of twelve sons, besides the daughter who has just been named. These were the patriarchs or progenitors of the twelve tribes of Israel, and are as follow: by his wife Leah he had Reuben his first born, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun; by Rachael, Joseph and Benjamin; by Bilhah, Rachael's handmaid, Dan and Naphtali; and by Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, whom she also gave to her husband, Gad and Asher. Leah was the despised one; but not only had she by far the most numerous progeny, which was in those days considered a glory to the woman; but Judah also sprang from her, the great ancestor of the Messiah and of the Jews.

Jacob again removed to Mamre, where his father still dwelt, whom he had the satisfaction of once more seeing, and continued with him till the death of Isaac, which took place in the 180th year of his age. Esau and Jacob were both present at his burial; after which they became entirely separated, and their descendants most commonly at enmity. Jacob however appears at this time to have been acknowledged as the successor of Isaac; and Esau withdrew to Mount Seir and dwelt there.

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[1] Maimonides says, that the Teraphim were made of particular metals and dedicated to particular planets. They were chiefly used for divination; for in Ezekiel xxi. 21, the king of Babylon is said to have "looked on the liver and consulted his Teraphim." So Zech. x. 2, "the Teraphim have spoken vanity, the diviners have seen a lie."

JOSEPH.—[A.M. 2276.] The current of the history now carries us to the notice of Joseph; to the seventeenth year of whose age we must first return. At this period he was a youth of evident piety, and enjoyed the special regard and affection of his father; but this partiality provoked at the same time the jealousy of his brethren;[1] which other circumstances tended to aggravate and inflame. For Joseph had been sent under the care of four of his brethren, the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, to feed his father's flock; and he had reported to his father their evil conduct when removed from observation. He was in his turn also a prophet, and had vouchsafed to him various divine revelations, in dreams and visions of the night; in which were set forth his own future greatness, and the subjection to him of his brethren. And, thirdly, instead of being habited in the ordinary pastoral dress of his brethren, Jacob had clothed him in a garment "of many colours," (supposed to have been of variegated embroidery,) such as was worn only by princes.

An opportunity soon presented itself, which betrayed that the spirit of envy is of him who was "a *murderer* from the beginning." Joseph's brethren were sent away to Shechem, where it appears that Jacob had ventured to re-occupy the former pastures. Joseph was afterwards dispatched to inquire after them; and finding them removed to Dothan, he proceeded thither; when his brethren, perceiving his approach, determined to destroy him. There was an exception to this murderous intention: Reuben meditated his deliverance, but deemed it needful to dissemble; and he proposed therefore that they should not themselves imbrue their hands in his blood, but cast him into a pit, and there leave him to perish; his secret purpose being to draw him out afterwards, and restore him to his father. This proposal was immediately acceded to and carried into execution, despite of the cries and agony of Joseph. But Judah also felt some compunction of heart; and observing a company of Ishmaelitish merchants on their route for Egypt, he proposed that they should not be accessory in any way to Joseph's death, but sell him by these merchants into slavery. This proposal was likewise concurred in, and he was consequently drawn up and sold; after which his brethren, dipping his many-coloured garment in the blood of a kid, repaired with it to his father, pretending that they had found it. Jacob immediately concluded that he was devoured by wild beasts, and gave himself up to excessive grief; whilst his sons and daughters are represented as endeavouring to console him;—a scene of odious hypocrisy on the part of those who were the authors of this affliction.

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[1] The reason assigned in the scriptures for this partiality is that Joseph was the son of Jacob's *old age;* but in this respect Benjamin was still more so, and equally the son of Rachael; and the whole of Jacob's family were born to him in the course of thirteen years. The expression in the original is literally "the son of *elders,*" which may mean that he was a child exhibiting the prudence and wisdom of elders; and the ancient Targum of Onkelos therefore explains it,—"because he was a *wise* child."

The moral condition of Jacob's family was indeed evidently deplorable. Joseph's report of them to his father shews that their conduct generally must have been bad; and we have witnessed their blood-thirsty vindictiveness in the destruction of the Shechemites; their defilement with the superstitious and idolatrous practices of the Canaanites; and their readiness, with only two exceptions,[1] to imbrue their hands in the blood of a brother. Of the two excepted we have also unfavourable particulars to record: Reuben was guilty of adultery and incest with Bilhah, his father's concubine, (whose conduct, considering her age and position in the family, was even more atrocious than that of Reuben,) and the licentiousness of Judah is but too apparent from the history in Genesis, chap. xxxviii.

These men alleged among themselves, as a reason for their cruel treatment of Joseph, that they would thereby frustrate his dreams of aggrandisement: but vain is the counsel of men against the Most High.—The very means, taken by them to prevent the accomplishment of Joseph's prophecies, proved but as links in the chain of events which led to their fulfilment. The Ishmaelites took Joseph with them into Egypt and sold him to Potiphar, a military officer of rank; and the Lord so blessed and prospered all that Joseph undertook for his master, that he was made steward or deputy over his whole establishment.

But a new trial awaited Joseph; for God often humbles and proves, by previous affliction, those whom he designs greatly to elevate. His personal beauty, which has been greatly celebrated by the Arabian writers, attracted the notice and excited the concupiscence of the Egyptian officer's wife, who in plain and direct terms invited him to be her paramour, and daily annoyed him with solicitations; but he refused, and reminded her how gross a breach such an act would be of the confidence reposed in him by her husband, and how great the wickedness in the sight of God; and when he perceived that his appeal to her moral sense of duty and of honor was in vain, he refused to trust himself any longer in her company alone. The abandoned woman obtained, nevertheless, another opportunity of importuning Joseph; and as he attempted immediately to retreat, she caught him by the garment, which he left in her possession and fled out. Disappointed and confounded, she now determined on revenge; and with hypocrisy which equalled her sensuality, she complained to her lord on his return; that Joseph had assaulted her; that she had cried aloud for assistance; and that in his hurry to escape he had left his garment in her hand. The indignation of Potiphar was immediately aroused; and whether it was that the forbearance of Joseph attempted no explanation, or the impetuosity of Potiphar would listen to none, he was immediately cast into prison.

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[1] Benjamin was probably not with his brethren, at the time when Joseph visited them, being little more than a child.

[A.M. 2287.] The Lord, however, was still with Joseph, and the dungeon proved only another step toward his advancement. Among the prisoners were the butler and chief baker of the king, who had offended him; and during their incarceration each had a remarkable dream, and was troubled and perplexed to know the import. Joseph gave them to understand, that by the Spirit of God he could expound their dreams, and declared the signification to be, that the butler would in three days be restored by Pharaoh to his office, and that the baker would at the expiration of the same period be hanged; all which exactly came to pass as he had described.

Two years afterwards Pharaoh had a remarkable dream. He saw seven fat kine arise out of the river Nile and feed in a meadow, and seven lean and miserable kine come out after them and devour them, without appearing any the fatter for their extraordinary meal. He awoke; then slept and dreamed again, that he saw seven good and excellent ears of corn devoured by seven thin and blasted ears. And when his spirit was also troubled, and he had in vain consulted his wise men, the butler informed him concerning Joseph, who was accordingly sent for. Joseph first disclaimed that the power of interpreting dreams was in any respect his own, and ascribing the glory to God, he proceeded to declare, that the dreams of Pharaoh were graciously sent him of the Lord to admonish him what was about to happen in his kingdom;—that they portended seven successive years of great plenty, followed by another seven years of so great dearth, that the superabundance of the former years would be entirely swallowed up and consumed thereby. He concluded by advising Pharaoh to look out some person of discretion, and to set him over the land with proper officers under him, that he might gather together the surplus produce of the first seven years, and store it up against the time of need.

This counsel was universally approved, both by Pharaoh and his courtiers; and turning to the latter, the king pertinently asked, "Can we find such a one as *this*, (meaning Joseph) a man in whom is the Spirit of God?" He then took the signet from his finger, and placing it upon Joseph's, caused him to be arrayed in princely apparel, and made him chief ruler in Egypt after himself. Thus mediately Joseph owed his elevation to his modesty; for his deprecating from himself the power of interpreting dreams, and ascribing it to the Spirit of God, led Pharaoh to conclude that Joseph must therefore have the Spirit of God dwelling in him, and that he was consequently the most suitable person he could find.—So true it is that God honours those who honour him.[1]

Joseph used great diligence and activity during the seven years of plenty. Extensive magazines were erected in all directions, and filled with the surplus produce of the earth, which was so great that they at length desisted from taking any regular account of it. But the seven years of dearth immediately succeeded, and now the importance of Joseph's counsel was sensibly perceived. He immediately opened the public granaries; and not only the inhabitants of Egypt, but likewise of the surrounding nations, were speedily compelled to resort to him for food.

Among the strangers who applied to Joseph came his brethren, and prostrated themselves before him. Joseph knew them, and had now ample opportunity of avenging himself, had he been so disposed; but he was only bent on availing himself of this providential opening to bring them to a different state of mind.

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[1] Isaac Cullimore, Esq., the author of various learned astronomical papers on Chronology, read before the Royal Society, deduces from the discoveries of M. Champollion, that this Pharaoh was the Osortesen of Manetho, the founder of a mighty dynasty. The name Zaphnath-paaneah, which was given by Pharaoh to Joseph, is found coupled with that of Osortesen on the monumental tablet of Raamses the Great, found at Abydos. See Morning Watch, vol. vi. p. 405.

For this end he assumed a harsh deportment, affected to consider them as spies, and conversed with them only through an interpreter. The charge of being spies led them to declare more explicitly their family and number, viz. that they were twelve brethren, that one was deceased, and another remained at home with their father. This statement Joseph pretended to disbelieve, and declaring that he would prove its truth by sending and fetching their brother, he threw them into prison; but at the end of three days sent for them again, and giving them to understand that he would not keep their families without corn, he took Simeon from them as a hostage for the return of the rest, and had him bound before their eyes. These proceedings already, through the blessing of God, produced some good effect. The recollection of their sin was brought home to their consciences with lively compunction of heart, and they acknowledged the hand of God in bringing upon them so just a retribution. As they spake these things openly to each other, under the impression that Joseph understood them not, he overheard their discourse, and with great difficulty concealed his emotion. At length he dismissed them and they returned home, where they immediately gave to their father Israel a circumstantial account of what had happened, with the additional fact, that on taking down their sacks of corn from their asses, each man found the money paid for it restored and placed in the sack's mouth; which both surprised them and filled them with consternation, not knowing whether God purposed to bring good or evil upon them thereby.

Israel was greatly affected at the detention of Simeon, and still more by the circumstance of Benjamin being demanded; and exclaiming in a paroxysm of grief, that all these things were *against* him, he resolutely determined that he would not send Benjamin. Thus blind at times are even the saints of God, when oppressed by troubles. They lose sight of the repeated proofs which they have had of God's love, and conclude that he is fighting against them, only because they need patience to await the issue of their trials. Jacob continued deaf to the remonstrances of his sons, until the supply of food was exhausted; when perceiving that Benjamin must needs perish at home if he remained, he reluctantly sent him away, and tremblingly awaited the result.

A second time therefore did the brethren of Joseph present themselves before him, and bow themselves to the earth; on which Joseph directed his steward to take them to his house, and there to make ready for entertaining them. So unusual a compliment however excited their suspicions and disquietude, and they were anxious to inform the steward of the money which they had found in their sacks; but he comforted them with the assurance that he had duly received it, and by bringing out their brother Simeon to them. Joseph soon after appeared, and after hospitably entertaining, again dismissed them; having previously however directed that his silver cup should be placed in the sack of Benjamin. He then despatched his steward after them, who charged them with the robbery. With unaffected protestations of their innocence, they immediately invited a search of their baggage, proposing that the person with whom it should be found should be Joseph's slave. The proposal was accepted, the search made, and the cup of course discovered where it had been placed. All was now affliction and dismay; and returning with their clothes rent, they declared before Joseph, that it was a just punishment for their iniquities, and offered themselves as bondmen. Joseph however desired that Benjamin only, with whom the cup was found, should be detained, and that the rest should return with the necessary succours to their families; on which Judah stood forth, and relating all the circumstances which had induced their father to hesitate concerning sending Benjamin, and their own solicitude for their aged parent's welfare, finally offered himself as a bondman in Benjamin's stead.

The speech of Judah on this occasion has been justly admired for its simple and pathetic eloquence: it is more worthy of remark, as decidedly indicating the ameliorated spirit which now prevailed in the family of Israel. Formerly they were envious of their brother Joseph, because they perceived that their father chiefly loved him: now the like circumstance is the occasion of their cherishing with particular solicitude and care their brother Benjamin. Formerly they were reckless of their father's feelings and happiness, and thought only of their own revenge: now all concern for themselves is absorbed in the overwhelming apprehension, that the gray hairs of Israel might be brought down with sorrow to the grave. Formerly, to gratify their own passions, they scrupled not to bring upon themselves the guilt of a brother's blood: now they are all ready to offer themselves as bondmen in a brother's stead.

Joseph was unable longer to refrain himself, and having caused all the bystanders in his hall of audience to go forth, he made himself known to his brethren. Mingled feelings of awe at the now manifest exaltation of their brother, combined with the recollection of their own cruel treatment of him, caused them at first to be greatly troubled at his presence; but he at length encouraged them, by shewing how marvellously God had overruled their wrath, as a means of preserving them a posterity in the earth, and to save their lives by a great deliverance. He then fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck and wept aloud, and next embraced the others, weeping over them and kissing them; after which they were enabled to commune with him.

The report of this event was speedily conveyed to Pharaoh, who together with his servants was pleased at the intelligence, and commanded that they should return and fetch their families, and come again into Egypt. Joseph joyfully complied, and sent away his brethren with asses loaded with presents for his father, and provisions for the journey, together with carriages for the conveyance of his father and the wives and children of his brethren. The news of the existence and glory of his long-lost son powerfully affected the mind of Israel. His heart fainted within him at the first; nor could he believe the intelligence, until he went out and beheld the presents and carriages sent to him by Joseph; when his spirit revived, and he immediately resolved on going into Egypt.

[A.M. 2298.] Jacob was met on the way by Joseph, when an affecting interview took place. On his arrival at the capital he was introduced by Joseph to the presence of Pharaoh, who treated him with much kindness and condescension, and directed that his family should be located in Goshen, the most fertile region of Egypt. On being informed likewise of their pastoral habits, he promoted his sons to be rulers over his shepherds and herdsmen; beyond which there was probably no post of honour or of office readily open to them, on account of the peculiar superstitions of the Egyptians, which led them to view all shepherds as an abomination.[1] Pharaoh obtained from Israel a more valuable boon in return;—viz. the twice recorded blessing of the venerable prophet; besides being reminded by him of the vanity of human life, —a lesson of singular advantage to princes, and but rarely read before them.

[A.M. 2315.] Israel lived seventeen years in Egypt, and died at the age of 147 years. Of his last hours several interesting particulars are recorded, bearing upon the future destinies of his family. Joseph approached him with his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, (for he had married a daughter of the priest of On,) in order that they might receive his blessing; on which occasion Israel adopted them as his sons, rather than as grandsons; leaving to be counted to Joseph only his succeeding issue. In consequence of which, when the land of Canaan was afterwards portioned out among the posterity of the patriarchs, no mention is made of any lot for the descendants of *Joseph*, but for those of Manasseh and Ephraim in his place. In pronouncing the blessing also upon these two, he was led by the Spirit of God to cross his hands, and place his right hand on the head of Ephraim the younger, and his left on the head of

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[1] The Egyptians of Thebes, according to Herodotus, (lib. ii.) ate no mutton, because they worshipped Ham or Ammon under the image of a ram. This is the most probable solution of their prejudice against those who raised sheep for the purpose of slaughtering them.

Manasseh, contrary to the custom of primogeniture;[1] and when Joseph remonstrated, the old man nevertheless persisted, and pronounced the future superiority and greatness of Ephraim over Manasseh. On the day of his decease Jacob summoned all his sons, and prophetically admonished them of what would befal their posterity; in which dying annunciation it is worthy of remark that Reuben, who had so greatly outraged his father and offended against God, and Simeon and Levi also, who had betrayed great violence and cruelty in the instance of the Shechemites, are reprimanded instead of being blessed.[1] And it is finally recorded of him, that on this occasion he worshipped leaning on the top of his staff; the object of mentioning which is apparently to shew, that although he had now arrived at so advanced an age as to need this support, and had been so long a stranger and sojourner in the earth, his faith in the promises of the God of his fathers continued nevertheless unshaken.

Had Jacob been Pharaoh himself, his funeral could not have been conducted with greater solemnity and pomp. Joseph caused him to be embalmed and interred, according to his own dying request, in the cave of Machpelah; and there went up with his remains the officers of Pharaoh's household, all the nobles and elders of Egypt, and a great company of chariots and horsemen.

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[1] It is remarkable, considering how the principle of primogeniture was cherished and venerated among the nations of the east, and afterwards sanctioned by God himself, when he required that the first-born should be considered as consecrated to Himself, (Exod. xiii. 2) that he nevertheless repeatedly set it aside, in the instances of the more eminent patriarchs, as if to make it manifest, in regard to the history of this extraordinary people, that they are an *election*, the objects of his peculiar and sovereign favour. Thus Shem was the junior of Japhet; Abraham of Haran; Isaac of Ishmael; Jacob of Esau; Joseph of ten out of his eleven brethren; Ephraim of Manasseh; Moses of Aaron; David of the other sons of Jesse.

[A.M. 2368.] Joseph survived his father 54 years, and died at the age of 110 years; having dwelt about ninety years of that period in Egypt, during eighty of which he was prime minister or vicegerent, the most elevated post to which any subject could attain. History affords no parallel of one elevated so high, yet dependant on another, who has continued so long in power, undisturbed by factious intrigues or the machinations of jealous inferiors. And when it is considered that Joseph was an obscure foreigner, elevated over the heads of all the native princes and nobles of the empire, and that he brought them into a state of complete subjection to Pharaoh, it is still more remarkable, and could only have proceeded from the general conviction that God was with him. For during the seven years of famine he first obtained the money of the inhabitants for corn; then he obtained their cattle, next their lands, and finally their persons; and as an expressive type of Him who will hereafter take upon him the government of the whole world, he gathered together all things in one, and surrendered them up to Pharaoh. The lands were indeed eventually restored, or rather leased, to the parties who had previously owned them; for the right of Pharaoh to them was recognised by a law requiring the occupants to pay to the king annually a fifth part of the produce. The priests however formed an exception; for as it was their privilege, in the first instance, to be nourished from the table of the king, so their land continued in their own possession, and became not the property of Pharaoh.[1]

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[1] Mr. Wilkinson shews from Herodotus ii. 37, that all Egypt was

At the time of his death, Joseph likewise evinced the stedfastness of his faith in the promises of God, by giving an assurance to the children of Israel, that God would surely visit them, and bring them out of Egypt to the land promised to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; and he expressly enjoined them, that when they should go forth, they should carry up his bones with them. He was then embalmed and deposited in a coffin, to await the Exodus of his brethren.

Scripture is silent concerning the proceedings of the brethren of Joseph in Egypt, and of their posterity, until we come to the period of the Exodus; so that with Joseph may be said to terminate the history of the Patriarchs. It is hoped that the brief details which have been given of the events of their lives will not be regarded as superfluous, when it is considered that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in particular are the great founders of the Hebrew nation; the three covenant heads with whom all the promises of grace and glory to the church were made; and the three whom the Lord delights continually to name, as being specially *their* God. Less would not have sufficed to convey an adequate notion of their respective characters: more would have been incompatible with the limits of a single volume.

divided into three portions: one of which was the property of the king, whilst the priests and the military possessed the other two; and that the priests were likewise entitled to be sustained with corn from the public granaries: for which reason he concludes it was that the priests' lands were not sold. The portion therefore of the military would be the only one sold; and these we must presume were a militia force, tilling the land and serving in the army by turns. (Customs, &c. of Ant. Egypt. vol. i. p. 262.)

CHAPTER II.

THE EGYPTIAN BONDAGE AND EXODUS.

Excepting the personal manifestations of himself vouchsafed by the Almighty to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, he had hitherto interposed in behalf of his people, only by those instances of protection and deliverance which may be called providential, as distinguished from the miraculous. We now however arrive at an era in the history of Israel which will prove remarkable for a display of signs and wonders of a different character. If some of these are no more than natural phenomena on a larger scale than ordinary, yet this very magnitude of the phenomena, added to the fact of their being previously predicted, renders it manifest that God immediately directs or moves the agency employed. In regard however to others of them, either the ordinary laws of nature are deviated from, or an agency is employed, the phenomena of which cannot be accounted for on any known principles. Many hypotheses have indeed been put forward, (for "vain man would be wise;") and many are dissatisfied if they cannot resolve every alleged miracle by some ascertained principle of science. The restlessness, however, of men to account for every thing which is declared to be the immediate work of God, and their delight in every fresh discovery which enables them to explain a marvel which they could not understand before, only betrays a latent germ of infidelity, without in any degree altering the real nature of the case. For should it hereafter be discovered that there have all along existed certain occult principles by which every alleged miracle might be explained, it would not disprove the fact that those principles are at the immediate command of Him by whose divine fiat they were first called into existence; by whom they are now either maintained in operation, or at his pleasure suspended; and who purposes hereafter to dissolve the very elements of nature, and reconstruct the world. (2 Peter iii.)

[A.M. 2369 TO 2512.] The children of Israel had multiplied so rapidly in Egypt, as to have become a considerable people. A prince however had succeeded to the throne who was the opposite in character and disposition of the patron and protector of Joseph. By nature subtle, cruel and suspicious, he regarded with a jealous eye the rapidly-increasing numbers of the Hebrews; and forgetting the great benefits which the nation, and the monarch in particular, had derived from their eminent kinsman, he thought only of the unfriendly influence which they might exercise in case of war or insurrection; and therefore he resolved to diminish their power and numbers, whilst at the same time he was desirous not to lose their services. To this end he reduced them under a rigorous bondage; made them the brickmakers and builders of Egypt,[1] and exacted from them so great an amount of labour, as to render their life miserable. In modern Egypt the effect of a grinding tyranny has been to diminish the population; and doubtless the same effect would have followed in the age of the Pharaohs, had it not been that God manifestly interposed in behalf of Israel; so that, notwithstanding the adverse political circumstances in which they were placed, they still continued to increase.

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[1] Josephus states that they built the pyramids: it is certain from

Pharaoh on this gave secret instructions to the Hebrew midwives, to destroy the male offspring; but this stroke of craft and cruelty being rendered abortive by the humanity of the midwives, he next put forth an edict, in which he charged the whole nation to cast into the river every male Hebrew child that should thenceforth be born. This produced the desired effect: for the Egyptians having become evil affected towards the Hebrews, the king's command was now strictly enforced, and the Israelites were consequently brought into still greater affliction.

But their faithful God was not regardless of them. The wife of a man named Amram, of the tribe of Levi, bore him a son, concerning whom his parents received some divine intimation that he was to be

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the scriptures that several cities were erected by them, among which were Pithom and Raamses. A tomb has been discovered at Thebes, belonging to a superintendent of public works of the reign of Thothmos the third, on which is sculptured a representation of Hebrews making bricks. It is published by the antiquary Sig. Rosellini, (Mon. Civ. pl. xlix.) The whole is too graphical and expressive to be mistaken, and seems greatly to confirm the statement of Josephus, that the Exodus took place under that monarch. Serious difficulties however stand in the way of such a conclusion, as may be seen in Mr. Cullimore's able paper on the Exodi of the Jews and Greeks. (Fraser's Magazine for Oct. 1836.) See also the note at the end of this chapter.

the deliverer of his people.[1] They determined therefore at the risk of their own lives to conceal him; but finding, at the end of three months, that they could no longer accomplish it, they constructed a basket of rushes, and having made it impervious to water and placed the child therein, they launched the fragile vessel on the stream, and committed it to God. By a remarkable conjuncture of circumstances, the Lord caused the daughter of Pharaoh to visit that part of the river, together with her female attendants, for the purpose of bathing; and espying the little ark, now entangled among the flags, she sent one of her maids to fetch it, but was greatly surprised to discover, on opening it, that it contained a babe. The infant cry, and the great beauty of the child, immediately found a passage for it to her affections; and though she truly guessed at its Hebrew origin, she resolved to have it reared up for herself, and unconsciously engaged the mother of the child to nurse it. This princess gave him the name of *Moses*, which signifies in the Egyptian tongue "*drawn from the water;*" by which name he has ever been distinguished.

When Moses was of an age to be educated, the daughter of Pharaoh adopted him as her own son, made him her heir, and had him instructed in all the various learning and sciences of the Egyptians; in which the young pupil made great progress. Moses, however, received direct from God an endowment far more valuable than anything which he obtained by the instrumentality of the Egyptian princess; for he was richly gifted with divine grace. Unmoved by the allurements of rank, wealth and learning, by which he was surrounded, his thoughts and affections were engaged in behalf of his afflicted people; and though he might easily have passed for an Egyptian, and as the grandson of the king, yet he preferred to be known as an Israelite, and to share the reproach of his brethren according to the flesh. He had evidently been instructed by his parents, that God had designs of mercy for his people through his instrumentality; and he imagined that his brethren would necessarily be persuaded of these circumstances;[1] but in this he was deceived, and soon had a humbling proof of his mistake. Observing a Hebrew ill-treated by an Egyptian, his sympathy and indignation were aroused, and taking part with his oppressed brother, he slew the Egyptian and buried him in the sand. Through the treachery, however, of his own countrymen, the circumstance was betrayed to Pharaoh, who determined on this account to put Moses to death: apprized of which intention, Moses hastily fled into the land of Midian, where he contracted an intimacy with Jethro the high priest, and married Zipporah his daughter, by whom he had two sons.

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[1] Compare Acts vii. 25, and Heb. xi. 23.

[A. M. 2513.]—Forty long years rolled over the head of Moses in this retreat, during which the king of Egypt died; but the prince who succeeded to the throne still pursued the same crooked policy toward the Israelites; whilst Moses, who had now reached his eightieth year, seems to have given up the expectation of any deliverance of Israel being effected by his hand. One day, however, whilst he was tending the flock of Jethro in the vicinity of Mount Horeb, his attention was suddenly arrested by a remarkable phenomenon. A bush appeared to be in flames; but no waste or consumption of it followed the combustion. Turning aside to ascertain the cause, he was arrested by a voice which proceeded from the flame; and which proved to be the great angel of the covenant—the ETERNAL WORD,—who announced that he had come down to deliver his people from their bondage, and that Moses himself was to be their leader.

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[1] Acts vii. 25.

How entirely Moses must have abandoned this hope is seen by the extraordinary reluctance which he now betrayed for the undertaking. His former rejection by his countrymen is evidently fresh in his recollection. He first pleads his insignificance; next his persuasion that his people will not receive him; and then that he is slow of utterance. The Lord however overrules his objections; empowers him to work certain signs for the conviction of his countrymen; and appoints his brother Aaron to be his spokesman and companion. He further instructs him to demand of Pharaoh that he should let the Hebrews go three days' journey into the wilderness, for the purpose of offering a sacrifice which he will there appoint; but at the same time admonishes him that he will harden Pharaoh's heart, so that he will not let the people go; that this will give occasion for the exhibition of his mighty signs and wonders; and that after his power and glory shall have been thus displayed, and the Egyptians signally chastised for their unbelief and oppression, the Hebrews shall at length be permitted to depart.[1]

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[1] The plain declaration of holy writ, that the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and raised him up for the purpose of showing

Moses, being silenced, returned to Jethro, and having bade him farewell, he departed from Midian, with his wife and two sons, for the land of Egypt; and having met Aaron by the way, who embraced him with cordial affection, they together summoned the elders of Israel, and spake all the words and wrought the signs which the Lord had commanded. And the people believed, and when they clearly inferred from these things that God had at length looked down upon their affliction, they bowed their heads in grateful adoration and worshipped.

Encouraged by this reception, Moses and Aaron now went boldly in before Pharaoh, and made the request prescribed, in the name of the Lord the God of Israel. The despot however accused Moses and

forth his judgments and wonders, has stumbled many; especially those who are unwilling to admit of the absolute sovereignty of God in all things. Such can find no conclusion short of the awful doctrine, that God is the author of evil, and that he predestinated Pharaoh to be wicked. Two things however have to be considered relative to this matter. First, that, according to the scripture idiom, God is often said to *do* that which he only *permits.* Thus he is said, in 2 Samuel xxiv. 1, to move David to number Israel; whereas in 1 Chron. xxi. 1, Satan is expressly said to have been the author of that temptation. And as in another place it is declared that God tempteth no man with evil, (James i. 13) so in the present instance we must understand, that God left Pharaoh to the natural hardness of his heart, and permitted Satan to practise upon it. Secondly, it must be remembered, that it is the *regal dignity* of Pharaoh that is referred to, when the Lord says—" For this cause have I raised thee up." The Lord needed at this particular crisis of his church a particular instrument, who should give occasion, by the operation of natural causes, for calling forth his mighty works; and just therefore as an artist or mechanist goes into his workroom, and selects from among a thousand different tools the implement needed for a particular occasion, so by his foreknowledge and providence God predestines this man to the crown of Egypt, and he is born to inherit it. Pharaoh would have been a proud and haughty unbeliever and scoffer had he been born a slave; but as a slave he would have been acted upon by a different train of circumstances, which would have developed his character under different modifications.

Aaron of encouraging their people to be idle; and the superintendents over them were directed to increase their daily task of labour, and instead of providing straw for them from the public stores, to leave them to procure it for themselves. In the search after stubble the Hebrews necessarily lost much time, and a smaller quantity of bricks was consequently manufactured; but when this diminution in the daily rate was reported to Pharaoh, he would hear no excuse, but unreasonably and tyrannically insisting on his previous accusation, that they were *idle*, he ordered the chiefs of the people to be beaten.

The elders of Israel met Moses and Aaron, and reproached *them* with having brought their nation into this miserable strait; so ready is man to charge the servants of the Lord unjustly. But the two prophets nevertheless felt deeply for their brethren, and earnestly pleaded with God; who not only condescended to assure them of his purpose to redeem Israel, but to form them into a peculiar nation as his people. Encouraged by this, Moses and Aaron went again and stood before Pharaoh, and according to the direction of the Lord, when the king demanded to see a miracle wrought by them, as an evidence of their divine mission, Aaron cast down his rod in the midst of the court, and it became a serpent. The king sent for his magi and sorcerers, who succeeded, by their necromantic art, in imitating the miracle. But God nevertheless put this marked difference between them and his servants, viz. that the serpent, which had been produced from Aaron's rod, swallowed up the serpents produced by the magicians. The heart of Pharaoh however was hardened.

A series of plagues were next brought on the land.

First, at the word of Moses, the rivers and streams, the ponds, the pools, and cisterns also, became blood, and the fish died, and the river stank, and the Egyptians loathed to drink of it. And at the end of a week he brought up frogs from the same waters in such multitudes, that they penetrated even to the bed of Pharaoh, and infested the ovens and kneading-troughs of his subjects. The magicians however in both instances did the same, or deceived the king with the appearance of so doing; though one circumstance gave in the latter case a decided superiority to Moses and Aaron, which Pharaoh himself unconsciously avowed. For when annoyed by this plague, he seems not to have thought his own magicians capable of *removing* the nuisance, however they might have *produced* it. If the king had applied to them to take away the frogs, they had evidently failed to accomplish it; and he now therefore humbled himself so far as to request of Moses, to entreat the Lord to take away this plague; promising at the same time, that he would then let the people go and do sacrifice to him. Moses was elated at this apparent success, and the plague was removed; but no sooner did Pharaoh perceive that there was respite, than he again hardened his heart.

The third plague was the conversion of the dust of the land into lice; which was signalized by the circumstance, that the magicians attempted to produce them, but failed, and acknowledged therefore to Pharaoh, that this was manifestly the finger or power of God. But though the pretext, behind which the deceitful heart of Pharoah had taken refuge, was thus removed from him, yet did he not relent; and the Lord therefore next afflicted the people with grievous swarms of flies, (probably musquitoes; [1]) and as the plagues increased in intensity, so likewise were those accompanying circumstances multiplied, which were calculated to produce conviction. In the last instance the magicians were unable to imitate the plague: in the infliction of this and the following one, the Lord made a distinction between the Egyptians and the Israelites, preserving the land of Goshen from the annoyance; that by this sign also Pharaoh might clearly perceive that the plague was of God. There now appeared in that monarch a partial relenting, but a more evident reluctation and clinging to his selfish policy. He will permit the Hebrews to sacrifice within the land; and when Moses objects that they might be called to offer in worship that which the Egyptians held in abomination, and might consequently be stoned, Pharaoh will then permit them to quit Egypt, provided Moses will pledge himself not to go far away. Moses consented to these terms; but no sooner was the plague removed than Pharaoh changed his mind, and relapsed again into his previous obduracy.

A series of plagues followed of a more afflictive character. For whereas the former were calculated to produce personal *annoyance* only, these inflicted great *injury*, both on the persons and property of the inhabitants. First, a murrain fell upon the sheep and cattle of every description; and a most extensive mortality ensued. Next followed an epidemic, consisting of a grievous sore or ulcerated boil, affecting both man and beast. This was succeeded by an unparalleled visitation of hail, accompanied by dreadful thunder and lightning, which was the more terrific to a people altogether unaccustomed to rain and storms.[1] Fire was mingled with the hail, and streamed along the ground, smiting both man and beast that were exposed to it, and destroying the trees and herbs. In these three plagues the same distinction was again made between Israel and the Egyptians; Goshen being free from the afflictions; but little or no impression was made upon Pharaoh except by the thunder and hail, when his stout heart was appalled, and he declared, "I have sinned this time: the Lord is righteous, and I and my people are wicked." Moses however had now learned his character by experience; and though he promised to make intercession, yet he declared to Pharaoh his persuasion, that neither he nor his servants would as yet fear the Lord. And so it proved; for when all was ceased, then (as has been the case with the numbers, who have promised well under similar terrors,) he sinned yet more, and both he and his counsellors hardened their hearts.

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[1] Speaking of Damietta in Egypt, the author of 'Three Weeks in Palestine and Lebanon' says, "One would fancy that it must be the head quarters of the legions of Beelzebub, the Insect-god. The flies literally blackened the walls, and swarmed in myriads upon every article of food set before us; so that we were obliged to wage war against them constantly with one hand, whilst we fed with the other. Clouds of these blood-suckers, the musquitoes, attacked us with insatiable voracity, keeping us night and day in a perpetual fever." p. 2. If it is thus in ordinary seasons, what must it have been when so increased as to have become a signal plague even to the natives of Egypt themselves!

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[1] In Deut. x. 11, there is an indirect allusion to the fact of there being no rain in Egypt, and to the method then customary of watering the land; a method still practised among the Chinese.—" For the land, whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy *foot*, as a garden of herbs; but a land of hills and valleys which drinketh water of the rain of heaven." (See the plates in Macartney's Embassy to China.) In Zechariah xiv. 18, it is expressly mentioned that there is no rain in Egypt. And Herodotus also relates that it once rained at Thebes, and that the circumstance occasioned general consternation. H. Salt, Esq., in his narrative of the Mozambique country, quotes from a MS. of a celebrated Arabian writer (Zaneddin Omar ibn l'Wardi) the following account of the Zingi.—' Their land lies opposite to that of Sind. Between the two intervenes the breadth of the sea of Persia.—The Nile is divided above their country at the mountain Muksim.—*Snow is not known among them, nor rain*, &c.' (Travels in Abyssinia, p. 56.) This peculiarity is not confined to Egypt: Baron Humboldt says of the long narrow valley between the Pacific and the Andes, near Truxillo in Peru, that *rain and thunder* are unknown in it. (Macgillivray's edition, p. 336.) The want of rain is amply made up for by the increased moisture of the air. The latter writer ascertained that the difference of moisture of the air in the equinoctial basin of the Atlantic was as 12 to 7 compared with the lake of Geneva; which he considered as accounting, to a great extent, for the vigorous vegetation which presents itself on the coasts of South America, where so little rain falls.

The next visitation was by innumerable swarms of locusts. Their appearance is by no means uncommon in those regions, and their ravages very great. The awful description of the prophet Joel is not in the least overcharged,—"The land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness."[1] The present visitation, however, was unparalleled from the size and numbers of the locusts. So immense were the swarms, that the air was darkened when they arose, the earth on which they alighted was scarcely visible, the houses were filled with them, and whatsoever remained from the hail was now consumed by them. The very announcement of this coming plague filled the servants of Pharaoh with terror. They had had too many proofs that the threatenings of the Lord are not in vain, though he could remember mercy, and be gracious in the midst of them; and they now therefore remonstrated with the king, reminding him that Egypt was already destroyed, and that it was not a time to provoke further calamities. The tyrant was entreated; he called for Moses and Aaron, and inquired of them, who they were that purposed to go forth; apparently concluding that it was only the adult males: but when he found that they determined to go with their entire families, and with their flocks and herds also, thus leaving behind them neither pledge nor hostage, he burst into a paroxysm of rage, and they were driven out from his presence with threats of vengeance. Nevertheless, when Pharaoh experienced the inconvenience of this plague, he again relented; but again also, on obtaining the usual respite, he relapsed.

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[1] The Rev. S. Gobat, in his account of Abyssinia, gives some interesting particulars of their appearance and devastations, as witnessed by himself.

A supernatural darkness followed, so intense, that for three days no one saw another, or ventured to arise from his place. But the children of Israel had light in their dwellings. There was the same apparent concession and reluctance in Pharaoh as before. He now proposed to let all the Israelites go forth, not excepting even the children; but desired the flocks and herds to be retained; and when informed that this could not be, inasmuch as the people must have cattle for sacrifices, and that they knew not what the Lord would require until they reached the appointed place of worship, he was again enraged, and warned Moses and Aaron, that if they dared to present themselves again before him, he would certainly put them to death.

Pharaoh's controversy with his Maker was thus brought to a crisis. The Lord had endured with much long-suffering this vessel of wrath fitted for destruction; and now proceeds to make a signal example of him. At the same time much solemn preparation was made by the Hebrews for their departure. Jehovah warned them, that he was about to destroy the first-born in every family in Egypt, and that then they would not only be permitted to go forth, but urgently thrust out, and should despoil the Egyptians. They were therefore to be prepared for their Exodus: they were to have their bread ready kneaded, and their troughs bound up with their clothes; and they were directed to borrow of their Egyptian neighbours jewels of gold and silver and raiment. But, above all, they were commanded to institute a solemn festival in commemoration of this event, and to make the night which was approaching the beginning of a new year, or era. Each family was directed to take a male and unblemished lamb of the first year, and having killed it, to strike the blood on the two side-posts or jambs of the house-door and upon the lintel, and then to eat the flesh roasted and with bitter herbs. They are assured, that when the destroying angel should smite the first-born, he should *pass over* the houses thus sprinkled with the blood of the lamb, and that the affliction should not visit them; for which reason the ordinance was called the *Pass-over*.

Moses ran the hazard of his life in making this last communication to Pharaoh of the vengeance intended; and having announced it, he waited not for a reply, but the meek prophet went away in anger, and Pharaoh retired in sullen disquietude to his chamber. And it came to pass that the stillness of midnight was interrupted by a cry of distress, which was re-echoed from every family; for the Lord smote the first-born throughout the land, there was not a house in which there was not one dead. And now

Pharaoh himself sent for Moses and Aaron, without waiting for the daylight, and in the anguish of his heart desired them to go forth, with their wives, their little ones, and flocks and herds, and to serve the Lord, and bless him also. And when the Israelites would borrow of the Egyptians, such was the awe inspired in the breasts of all, toward Israel in general and Moses in particular, and such the fear of God likewise experienced by some, that they vied with each other in offering their precious commodities, and were eager and urgent to hasten their departure. And Israel went forth the same night, in number 600,000 men, besides women and children,[1] and much cattle.

A mixed multitude likewise joined themselves to the Hebrews, and went forth with them; from which it is evident that among the Egyptians also God had his election, whom he called out, before he executed judgment. It is probable that in the days of Joseph, the whole nation was more or less brought to the acknowledgment of the truth of God; though the knowledge of Jehovah had afterwards, as is evident, greatly decayed. Nevertheless, we are informed that when the plague of hail was denounced, some believed the word of the Lord, and placed their cattle and servants under proper shelter; which was a greater exercise of faith on their part, from the fact that rain was unknown to them. And it would appear also that the series of judgments, which had recently been witnessed, had convinced many and inclined their hearts toward the Lord's people; whence it may reasonably be presumed that "the mixed multitude," consisted chiefly of persons thus convinced.

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[1] The large number of the Hebrews here recorded has appeared an insuperable difficulty to many, considering that the family of Jacob was but seventy persons, when he came into Egypt only 215 years before. Dr. Jahn supposes the *servants* are not included in the earlier enumeration, and therefore that a greater number went down with Jacob. This is probable, for certainly the *females* are excluded. (Gen. xlvi. 26.) Dr. Jahn however makes the period of their stay in Egypt longer by upwards of 200 years than it really was, which would again embarrass his view. But the principal circumstance to bear in mind is, that the increase of the Israelites did not proceed in the ordinary ratio of the increase of population in those days, but is declared to have been owing to a special and signal blessing of God. (Ex. i. 7.)

The Lord conducted the Israelites on their march in a remarkable manner. He made manifest his presence among them by a visible appearance in the heavens, which assumed the form of a cloud by day, intercepting the rays of the sun, and shielding them from its sultry heat; whilst in the night it appeared as a column of fire, which afforded them light for all purposes, and directed them also in their course.

But a great trial of faith was yet in reserve for the Israelites. The direct route from Goshen to Canaan was round the northern point of the Red sea; but the Lord, who preceded them in the cloud or pillar of fire, led them not by this course, lest they, who were unaccustomed to arms, should be alarmed at the prospect of having to fight their way through a warlike people, and immediately be discouraged.[1] He conducted them therefore by the way of the wilderness, from Rameses to Succoth, and by Etham, from whence they were specially directed to turn and encamp before Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, opposite to Baalzephon, which was on the other side. Judging from human principles, it was impossible for a people, who were probably not armed, and who were endeavouring to evade a numerous and powerful enemy, to have taken up a more unskilful position. They were enclosed within a narrow ravine or valley, with steep acclivities on each side, and the impassable waters of the Red sea in front of them; and if an enemy followed by entering the valley from Rameses, their destruction appeared inevitable.[1]

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[1] This is the reason assigned in holy writ; and it renders manifest the error of those who have too hastily concluded, that the warfare, waged by the Israelites against the nations of Canaan, proceeded from the policy of Moses, who was desirous of indulging their *habitual inclination;* whereas their whole history up to this period evinces that they were a people altogether unused to war.

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[1] Much difference of opinion exists with regard to the precise locality of this place; and also with respect to the part of Egypt in which Rameses and Goshen were situate. First, it may be useful to observe, that *Lower* Egypt is commonly called in the scriptures the land of Metzir, or Mizraim. Metzir was the son of Ham or Cham, who having left his son Metsir at *Zoan*, removed to *Upper* Egypt, and settled at Chemys or Chamus. Thus the Copts still call Upper Egypt *Chami;* and the Arabians call Lower Egypt *Metsir* or *Mestre.* In Psalm lxxviii. 12; cv. 23; and vi. 22, Lower Egypt is called the land of *Ham,* for the reason above named, that Ham first possessed it, and relinquished it to his son. According to Sanchoniatho, Metsir signifies *well-freed;* and *Pharaoh* in Hebrew signifies the same, being derived from פרע. The seat of empire, at the time when Moses was in Egypt, has been variously placed at Zoan, Tanis, Thebes, and Memphis. The first is the more probable, inasmuch as the marvels performed by Moses are said in the scriptures to have been wrought "in the field of Zoan." (Psalm lxxviii.) Pi-hahiroth, the place where the Israelites encamped, signifies in Hebrew *the mouth of Hiroth,* or *the mouth of holes.* The Septuagint renders it ϛομα Ειρωθ. Bishop Clogher therefore supposes it to have been at the end or *debouche* of a large glen, opening into the sea, between the two mountains now called *Jebel Attaka* and *Jebel Gewobee.* Dr. Shaw states that the Arabs still call it "the road of the children of Israel;" and that the name *Attaka* signifies *deliverance.* (Shaw's Travels, p. 346.) Some interesting remarks upon this subject, by the Père Sicard, appeared in the Jewish Expositor for 1818. He supposes indeed the capital of Pharaoh to have been Memphis; but a subsequent description of the valley above-mentioned is equally to the point in hand. He observes, that the route from Memphis to the Red sea leads into a ravine of inaccessible rocks on each side; and that this is the only route by which the Israelites could have arrived at the Red sea in three days, according to the text. That the road in that case was between the mount now called *Diouchi* and mount *Torah,* and that it issues, by fetching a compass round the mountains at *Etham,* instead of crossing

Their flight was favoured by the circumstance that the Egyptians were occupied for a day or two in preparing for and burying their dead; (Numb. xxxiii. 4.) but no sooner was the report brought to Pharaoh that they fled, than both he and his people repented that they had suffered the prize so easily to escape them. Observing however the apparent error in their tactics, he immediately pursued after them, with an army consisting of 600 select war-chariots and a vast multitude of horse. They soon overtook the fugitives; who, when they saw themselves thus pursued by a hostile force, and shut in on every side, forgat the Lord that went before them, and who had hitherto so marvellously wrought in their behalf; and yielding to their fears, they murmured against Moses. But they were purposely brought into this strait by Jehovah; who chose by them to admonish his people, who may be in difficulties at any time, that however desperate their condition may appear, he will assuredly help and deliver them, if they will but put their trust in Him. Moses encouraged the people to this effect; after which they were ordered to advance forward on their course. To the natural mind such an order was like a command to rush upon destruction; since the sea (as before ob-

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them in the plain of *Bede*, opposite which is the hill *Thouairecq*. *Bede* signifies, in Arabic, *the plain of the unparalleled prodigy*, and *Thouairecq* signifies *the mouth of the holes*, corresponding to the Hebrew *Pihahiroth*. The modern names of all the places laid down by Sicard, correspond in signification with the Hebrew names mentioned in Exodus; and a map which accompanies his work shows that the narrow passes at Baal-zephon and Migdol being seized and occupied by the Egyptians, the Israelites would be completely hemmed in. Niebuhr, and Burchhardt after him, supposes the passage to have been near the modern Suez; but this is only because the sea is there not more than two miles across.

served) was immediately before them. But Moses was at the same time directed to stretch forth his rod over the sea and to divide it; and, lo! the waters obey the word of a man, the Lord causes them to retire backward, by means of a strong east wind, and thus "the way of escape" most marvellously and unexpectedly presented itself!

It would appear from the sacred narrative, that the Israelites attempted the passage during the night, and that whilst on their march across, the waters were kept back like a wall, by means of the same wind.[1] The Egyptians, attempting to come near them in the night, were baffled by the Lord, who, when he ordered the Hebrews to advance, took up a position behind them, so as to be between the two hosts. And thus he proved a cloud of darkness to the Egyptians, whilst he gave light to the Israelites.

About break of day the Egyptians discovered that the Israelites were gone, and the means by which their escape had been effected, and they therefore now attempted the passage in pursuit. But no sooner were the Israelites safe across, than Moses was again directed to stretch forth his hand over the sea; on which the wind suddenly veered round, and blew in a contrary direction;[2] the sea rushed back again, and the host of Pharaoh was so completely overwhelmed, that not one of them escaped to report the news of this catastrophe.[1]

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[1] This greatly confirms Père Siccard's description of the place. The sea is at Thouairecq (he says) about fifteen miles across; and as it was the time of the vernal equinox, if they began their march soon after sunset they would have ample time for the accomplishment of this distance; and it would require nearly such a distance to occupy the time described in the Scriptures.

[2] Compare Exodus xv. 8 and 10, with Exodus xiv. 21.

The effect of this marvellous deliverance upon the Hebrews was, "that they feared, and believed the Lord and his servant Moses." Their apprehensions now vanished; and they were convinced of the power and faithfulness of that God, who had been the object of worship and of confidence with their forefathers.

The women immediately celebrated the event with hymns and sacred dances, led on by Miriam, the sister of Aaron; and Moses also composed by inspiration a song or ode for the occasion, from which it appears that the event has a typical aspect, towards a yet future and far more extensive and glorious deliverance of God's people, and their final settlement in happiness and peace.

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[1] The question under which of the kings of Egypt it was that this calamity took place, is involved in obscurity, arising chiefly, as I apprehend, from the fact named by Artabanus, that several of the kings of Egypt were contemporary with each other; in which case the dynasties recorded would necessarily be, in some instances, contemporaneous likewise. Thus Manetho and Berosus, the former an ancient Egyptian historian, and the latter the Chaldean historian, make it Cancres or Chencherres. Lysimachus makes it Bocchoris, the Saite, "in whose reign a sheep spoke," according to Manetho; which probably is a corrupt tradition of Balaam's ass speaking, which occurred during the time of Moses. Josephus makes it Tethmosis. Tacitus relates that in the reign of *Isis* a multitude of Jews left Egypt and were conducted into a neighbouring country, under the command of Hierosolymus and Judeus; but that others said they were driven out as lepers, and conducted in their journey by Moses, one of the exiles. (Hist. lib. v.) Manetho also mentions in another passage, that the event took place under Amos, whom he places in his 18th dynasty, and who might be contemporary with Chencres. (See Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. ix. Josep. cont. app. lib. i. &c., and Cory's Fragments.)

CHAPTER III.

THE PROMULGATION OF THE LAW.

[A.M. 2513.] THE short period of Hebrew history contained in the present chapter is remarkable, chiefly for the specimen it affords of the amazing unbelief and perverseness of the human heart, (as exhibited—not now by Egyptians, but by the Israelites themselves); and of the further manifestations which their rebellions called forth of the character of their God.

Only three days after they had witnessed the marvellous deliverance just recorded, and were pursuing their way to Mount Horeb, they became discouraged from the want of water; and their impatience broke out into loud expressions of discontent, on finding the springs of Marah, when they arrived there, to be bitter or brackish. But God miraculously healed the waters, and their necessity was relieved. About forty days after, a murmuring arose from the want of provision, and they openly expressed their regret at having quitted Egypt. Again, however, the Lord miraculously interposed; for he was now disciplining his froward children, and suffering them to fall into these various straits, in order that not only they, but all mankind through them, might learn how entirely dependant they are on him for the supply of their temporal wants. (Deut. viii.)

The nature of the supply demands attention. Besides a multitude of quails which fell about the camp that evening, and were taken in great numbers; every morning afterwards, until their arrival in Canaan, there was found on the earth a small round substance, like hoar frost, which, if gathered before sun-rise, hardened, and required either to be ground in the mill or pulverized in the mortar. (Numb. xi.) The people called it *manna*, a name derived from the Hebrew מן, which signifies a something unknown and peculiar of its kind: and this was used by them for bread, during the whole period of their sojourning in the wilderness. If this substance was left on the ground till after sun-rise, it melted; and if any of it was kept in their vessels until the following day, it bred worms and became putrid. But a remarkable exception was made for the purpose of honouring the Sabbath. On the sixth day the people were directed to gather double the usual quantity; being admonished that none would fall on the seventh day, but that the Lord would nevertheless preserve it from corruption on that day, although it was kept beyond the usual time: all which came to pass, and thus did God, on every returning Sabbath, afford a token of his power, and of his hallowing the day of rest. The fact is curious, as well as instructive in a religious point of view, inasmuch as it proves that the Sabbath was known and observed among the Hebrews previous to the giving of the law. A pot of the manna was subsequently by divine command deposited in the ark, and kept uncorrupted from age to age;—a standing memorial of God's providential care of his people, and an emblem of the enduring and incorruptible character of spiritual things.[1]

Notwithstanding the demonstrations of the power, goodness, and faithfulness of the Lord, just recounted, on the removal of the people to Rephidim, they again murmured at the want of water, and the spirit of insubordination proceeded to such a height, that they were about to stone Moses. Upon this he cried to the Lord (his only resource in such cases,) and was directed to go, accompanied by some of the elders as witnesses, to a rock adjacent, on which the Lord promised to stand, while Moses struck it with his rod; which was no sooner done than streams of water gushed forth from it; and thus had the people a preternatural supply of water, as well as of bread.[1]

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[1] Much learned criticism has been employed for the purpose of showing that the manna was a substance previously known; whereby the direct miracle is got rid of. Dr. Milman, quoting from Seetzen and Burckhardt, states in his History of the Jews, that it is now clearly ascertained to be a natural production, familiar to the Arabs, distilled from the thorns of the tamarisk, in the month of June; and that the preternatural circumstances, in the case of the supply to the Israelites, consisted in the immense and continual supply of it, and in its being preserved firm and sweet only for the sabbath day. That this cannot be the substance described by Moses will appear from several considerations. 1st. It is expressly called by the Psalmist *Angels' food* (Psalm lxxviii. 25), which clearly marks it as a substance *not* previously known to man. 2ndly. It is declared that the ancestors or fathers of Israel knew not of it. (Deut. viii. 3.) But Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and his twelve sons, had all of them at different periods gone from Canaan to Egypt, and Moses had been previously well acquainted with this same wilderness; wherefore it is scarcely possible that had this been a merely natural production of those parts it could have been unknown to them. 3rdly. Seetzen and Burckhardt state, that the substance, which they assume to be the manna, is distilled from the thorns of the tamarisk. But this does not consist with the scripture description, that it *fell with the dew* upon the camp in the night. (Numb. xi. 9.) 4th. They declare that it may be kept for a year: whereas Moses states on the contrary, that if it was kept till the next day, it bred worms and stank. 5th. They relate that what they have met with is produced only in the month of June, and after a wet season; whereas this was first seen by the Israelites at the latter end of April or beginning of May, after a season of drought, when they had been murmuring for water; and was produced in every month, and in all parts of the wilderness, whither the Hebrews journied. In no one circumstance does the substance they speak of correspond with that described by Moses, excepting its having the sweetness of honey. Though Moses combines with this also "the taste of fresh oil," which they take no notice of. In regard to the *colour* also of this substance, critics have differed, owing to its being described to be of the colour of *Bdellium;* and *bdellium,* or *bedolah,* is assumed by some to be a resinous gum of a dusky red brown, somewhat like myrrh, but inwardly clear, and resembling glue. But the word *Bedolah,* among the Jews, signifies a *pearl;* which Bochart infers *bdellium* to be, and states that pearls are found near the mouth of the river Pison. This agrees better with the twofold statement of Moses, that it appeared as *hoar frost,* and that it was *white,* like coriander seed. The Septuagint renders *bdellium,* "as *crystal,*" and the Syriac "*white like crystal.*"

Whilst the Hebrews sojourned at Rephidim, they were suddenly attacked by the Amalekites: on which Moses sent forth a chosen body of men to contend with them, under the command of Joshua, his chief minister and amanuensis, whilst he ascended the neighbouring height, with the rod of God in his hand, and engaged in prayer. Aaron and Hur accompanied him; and God so honoured his intercession, that while he prayed Joshua prevailed, and if through weariness he ceased, Amalek prevailed. Perceiving which, his companions seated him on a stone, and staid up his hands until sun-set, by which means the victory was secured. The entire event was ordered to be recorded, as an assurance that God would avenge them upon Amalek for this unprovoked attack, and blot out all traces of him from the earth.

In the third month, the Hebrews removed to the wilderness of Sinai.[2] Hitherto they could hardly be said to have had a political existence. Their fathers were independent chieftains or emirs, it is true; but their history is nevertheless that of a family or tribe, rather than of a nation. In Egypt, though they became sufficiently numerous, they were reduced to slavery; and though now emancipated, yet had they no organised form of government, nor any visible religious polity. At this station, however, they were to receive a civil and ecclesiastical constitution, and to be formed into a nation; on which occasion the people were required to sanctify themselves during three days by much solemn preparation, at the end of which God promised to appear.[1]

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[1] This rock is still an object of interest to the traveller. Doctors Shaw and Pococke, who have separately visited it, both describe it as a large block of red granite; the channel down which the water flowed being still visible, and hollowed out upon it.

[2] In Exod. iii. 1, the mount, at the foot of which they encamped, is

On the day appointed, a dark and lowering cloud was seen upon the mountain, accompanied by thunder and lightning, and other impressive phenomena. The mountain appeared enveloped in fire, and shook and rocked, as with an earthquake, whilst the smoke ascended up as from a vast furnace; and louder than the pealing thunder was heard the sound of a mighty trumpet, with long-drawn and intensely increasing blast, till the whole multitude, including Moses himself, were seized with fear and trembling. From out of the midst of this terrific manifestation God

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called *Horeb,* but now *Sinai,* apparently from the circumstance of God having appeared there in the bush. For *sene* is the Hebrew for *bush,* and *Mount Sinai* literally means *the Mount of the Bush.* Horeb is nevertheless the name of the mountain, Sinai being only one of its summits.

[1] This compact is called "the *Old* Covenant," not with reference to the period of its promulgation, but to the time of its being actually brought into operation. The Covenant of Grace or Promise, which is called the *New* Covenant, is in reality the oldest of the two, as to the period of promulgation, being entered into with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; (see Gal. iii. 17.) but it was not brought into operation until the death of the Testator, Christ, who was the *Seed* promised therein.

called to Moses to come up to him into the mount, but threatened any other that should attempt it with destruction. For the present indeed that threat appeared unnecessary; for on the descent of Moses, the people, overwhelmed with terror, earnestly besought him to be their medium of communication between God and themselves; in which matter God accepted them and dismissed them to their tents. Thus Moses was constituted a type of the promised Messiah, inasmuch as, besides his prophetical character and headship over the people, he became mediator between God and his church.

Whilst Moses was with Jehovah in the mount, he received from him the code of laws appointed for the government of the people, some particulars of which will be noticed presently. These were proclaimed to the entire congregation[1] through the medium of seventy of the elders; and the people with one voice accepted the constitution and pledged themselves to obedience. Upon this, Moses committed the whole to writing, and having erected an altar and offered sacrifice thereon, he again read the laws in the audience of all the people, who a second time vowed obedience, and the blood of the sacrifice was sprinkled on them as a seal of the pledge given.

After this ceremony, the seventy elders, who had previously been permitted to approach and worship at a lower range of the mountain, were invited to ascend up higher, and a vision was granted to them of the God of Israel—the ETERNAL WORD; and they beheld, and ate and drank, and continued unhurt. And on their descent Moses again was called up, and ascended with Joshua only, leaving Aaron and Hur to administer judgment to the people during his absence. He remained now forty days in the mount,[1] in the course of which he received further instructions concerning the statutes already delivered to him; he was commanded to erect a tabernacle, according to a pattern given to him, for the solemn and stated worship of Jehovah; and he finally received two tablets of stone, on which were graven by the Almighty himself ten of the principal and more comprehensive commandments, which are emphatically designated "the ten words." (Exod. xxxiv. 28. Deut. iv. 13; x. 4.)

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[1] The term *congregation* does not necessarily mean the *entire* of the people, or of the male adults; but often their representatives only, the elders and rulers. Thus the congregation is said to sit in *judgment*, in Numbers xxxv. 12, 24, 25, Joshua xx. 6, &c. which can only apply to the princes.

Whilst Moses was thus having honor and glory put upon him from God, a severe trial awaited him on his descent. Notwithstanding the exhibition which the people had recently witnessed of the power of God, the long and unexplained absence of their leader was sufficient to move them to cast off the bonds of allegiance to Jehovah, to treat his servant Moses with levity and contempt, and with an inconceivable fickleness and depravity to rush back at once into flagrant idolatry. Though they had so recently vowed that they would have none other gods but Jehovah, they now congregated about Aaron, and importuned him to make them gods; whilst Aaron, who had been left as magistrate to restrain them from evil, is overcome by their tumultuous and menacing conduct, and shamefully yields. He demanded of them to bring him their ear-rings, which being readily contributed, he formed of them the image of a calf; which they received with acclamations, and exclaimed, "These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." Encouraged by this, Aaron next erected an altar to it, and appointed a sacrifice and festival to be holden on the morrow: and it is worthy of remark, that in order to cajole his own conscience, he proclaims it a feast to Jehovah; as if it were designed for him, though visibly and actually in honour of the idol.[1]

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[1] Some obscurity attaches to the mode in which the different ascents of Moses and others into the mount is described in the Scriptures. A careful consideration of Exodus xix. and xx. will render it apparent that Moses and Aaron were first invited up, the latter probably in honour of his priestly office. When they descended, and the people had requested Moses to act as Mediator, he went up alone, and then the elders (no doubt including Aaron and Hur) were invited up. On the descent of these Moses was again called up alone. But it should be especially noticed, that in every instance in which Moses is said to have gone *alone*, Joshua was nevertheless included with him. See Ex. xxiv. 12, 13; xxxii. 17, &c.

The Lord apprised Moses of what was now going forward among the people, and proposed in his anger to consume them all, and to make of his posterity a great nation in their stead; which called forth a burst of disinterested patriotism from Moses in his mediatorial character, who earnestly deprecated from himself the proffered glory, and pleaded affectionately for Israel. And he who by the Spirit moved his servant thus to entreat for his people, was of course prepared to grant that, which was in reality an intercession according to his own will.

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[1] Ex. xxxii. 5. This is precisely the excuse which Papists make for their image-worship; and which the heathen before them alleged for their idolatries. (See Cic. de Nat. Deorum, and Jul. Fragm. p. 292.) Bishop Horsley, and after him Biddulph, in his Theology of the Patriarchs, imagine the calf to have been intended by Aaron as a representation of the cherubic creature. However this may be, it does not alter the idolatrous character of the proceeding; for the scripture reproves Israel on this occasion for "changing their Glory into the similitude of an ox that eateth grass." (Psalm cvi.)

But though Moses had thus successfully interceded for Israel, he was not wanting in holy zeal and indignation against their criminal proceeding. No sooner did he come within sound of their apostate revelry, and witness their dancing and festivity, than in a transport of passion he cast from him the tables which he had received from the Lord, and broke those precepts literally, which Israel had already broken morally. Nor did his anger end here. He took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it into powder, and mixing the dust thereof with water, he compelled the Israelites to drink it.[1] He next severely rebuked Aaron; and then, at the command of the Lord, directed the Levites, who had now come to his aid, to take each his sword, and passing through the camp to slay all that they met. Three thousand persons thus paid the penalty of this transgression with their lives; and Aaron himself would have been among the number, but for his brother's sake. (Deut. ix. 20.)

Having thus vindicated the honor of Jehovah, Moses earnestly renewed his intercession for the mass of the people, which the Lord graciously hearkened to, and spared the remainder of Israel; though he nevertheless brought many plagues on them afterwards, expressly on account of this transaction. (Ex. xxxii. 35.)

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[1] The following observations by M. Goguet on this subject, quoted in the work of Mr. Wilkinson on the Ancient Egyptians, will be read with interest. "Commentators have been much perplexed to explain how Moses burnt and reduced the gold to powder. Many have offered vain and improbable conjectures; but an experienced chemist has removed every difficulty on the subject, and has suggested this simple process. In the place of tartaric acid, which we employ, the Hebrew legislator used *natron*, which is common in the East. What follows, respecting his making the Israelites drink this powder, proves that he was perfectly acquainted with the whole effect of the operation. He wished to increase the punishment of their disobedience, and nothing could have been more suitable: for gold, reduced and made into a draught, in the manner I have mentioned, has a most disagreeable taste." (L'origin des Lois, &c. tome ii. p. 145.)

Moses was now again invited up into the Mount, where he continued another forty days, during which period the law was renewed, and strict injunctions added against intermarrying with the idolatrous nations round about, or attending their feasts or sacrifices;—a prohibition rendered the more necessary by the recent transgression of the people. At this time also Moses made particular request to God to be permitted to behold his glory. What his precise expectation was is not obvious; though by the answer given, that no man could behold the *face*, or *presence*, of the Lord and live, it probably had a reference to that effulgent light or glory in which God dwelleth, and to which no man in his present fallen condition can approach. (1 Tim. vi. 16.) The fact however demands the notice of the historian, inasmuch as it led to a declaration of certain attributes of the God of the Hebrews, which serve more fully to develope his character. A voice proclaimed a glory to Moses which was as yet but little considered, though continually experienced by the Hebrews; and God was announced as "The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression and sin; but that will by no means clear the guilty: visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, unto the third and fourth generation." The contrast with the gods worshipped by the nations round about was striking. None of them even pretended to the attributes of love, mercy, forbearance and long-suffering; on the contrary, cruelty and impurity were the general characteristics both of the heathen deities and their worshippers. And the fact, that the Hebrews did nevertheless continually revolt from a God so transcending in glory, and turned to wretched idols, can only be accounted for by a view of the natural depravity of the human heart, with the corrupt propensities of which the abominations of idolatry are congenial.

Having finally descended, Moses next commenced preparations for erecting the tabernacle. The people were invited to make offerings for the work of the most costly articles possessed by them;—gold, silver and brass; blue, purple, scarlet and fine linen; badgers', goats' and rams' skins, the latter being dyed red; onyx and other precious stones; shittim wood, and oil, and spices for the offerings, &c. And to their credit, in this instance, it is recorded, that they offered so willingly and abundantly, notwithstanding the great quantity required, that Moses was obliged to cause proclamation to be made throughout the camp, to restrain them from bringing more.

[A.M. 2514.] The remainder of the year was occupied in preparation; at the end of which, all being completed and approved, on the first day of the second year of Israel's deliverance, the Tabernacle was reared up with great solemnity without the camp. No sooner was it erected, than the bright cloud or shechinah descended upon it and covered it, and the glory of the Lord filled it. On the seventh day after it was reared up, (i.e. on the 8th day of the month,) the first sacrifices were offered in its courts, on which occasion fire came out from before the Lord, and consumed the burnt-offering upon the altar, as a token of his acceptance of it; which when the people saw, they shouted and fell on their faces.

After the tabernacle-worship was thus commenced, the symbol of the Divine presence constantly rested upon it, when the people were required to rest; and arose from off it, as a signal that they were to march; the appearance being, as before, that of a cloud by day, and of fire by night. And the Lord put this distinguishing honor upon Moses, that when he resorted to the tabernacle for counsel, the Shechinah descended from over its roof to the door, and prevented all other entrance; and thus Jehovah conferred face to face, as it were, with Moses, in the presence of all the people: on whom the effect of this testimony was so impressive, and begat in them such a reverence for Moses, that whenever on these occasions he proceeded to the tabernacle, they rose up to the door of their tents, and followed him with their eyes; and when the Shechinah descended, the whole simultaneously worshipped the Lord, each in the door of his tent.

Scarcely was the public worship of God established, when Aaron was called to endure affliction, arising from the criminal indifference of his sons Nadab and Abihu, who were appointed priests. Disregarding the appointed ritual, they offered strange fire (or, as some think, strange incense,) in their censers. It was a contempt of His express commands in this matter, which the Lord thought proper to visit severely in the outset; that all might be impressed with the importance which he attaches to a due subordination to his ordinances. They were accordingly struck dead by fire from the Lord; and Aaron was forbidden to manifest any of the usual demonstrations of grief. From the precept which immediately follows the relation of this event, viz.—"that the sons of Aaron should not drink wine nor strong drink, when they go into the tabernacle," it has been inferred that they were in a state of intoxication when they committed this offence.

An important modification in the manner of administering judgment was adopted also about this period, which arose from Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, visiting the camp. Observing the arduous labours of Moses, who both presided as judge in all matters of litigation, and expounded the statutes recently given to them, Jethro suggested the appointment of a more numerous magistracy, who might hear and determine ordinary suits, whilst Moses should reserve the more difficult cases for himself, and continue his stated instructions to the people on the new ordinances. The suggestion was approved, and Moses appointed magistrates of various rank, having jurisdiction over thousands, hundreds, fifties, and some even over so limited a number as ten families.[1]

Another modification of the civil government followed soon after; the immediate occasion of which was the continued mutinous and discontented spirit of the people, who now began to loath the manna which was sent them, and to lust for flesh, whilst the voice of weeping and regret for their former diet in Egypt (which had consisted chiefly of fish, melons, cucumbers, leeks, onions, and garlick, Numb. xi. 5,) was to be heard in every tent. Moses was greatly discouraged, and complained to the Lord that it was too heavy a burthen for him, to have singly to bear the reproaches and rebellions of the people; upon which he was directed permanently to associate with himself in the government the seventy elders who had been previously selected as an aid to him in the promulgation of the law. According to the unanimous declaration of the Jewish Rabbins this was the foundation or origin of the great council of the nation, which at a later period was called the Sanhedrin.[1] As these seventy were the princes and chief elders and officers of the tribes, the government was now ostensibly an aristocracy, which indeed Josephus calls it: for this assembly formed a house of peers, over which Moses was head or president. In reality, however, the constitution was a theocracy, since Moses consulted the Lord on all occasions of difficulty, and received from him continual guidance and directions, to which the council was subject. This council does not appear to have altogether superseded the office of those previously appointed by Moses to be rulers of thousands, hundreds, &c.; on the contrary, when the people were at length settled in Canaan, these evidently exercised the functions of municipal magistrates.

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[1] The descendants of Jethro have been found still existing in the East by Dr. Wolff. They call themselves the children of Hobab, who was son of Jethro. The Rechabites are descended from the same, and were found by Dr. Wolff near Sanaa, in Arabia Felix.

Soon as the seventy elders were convened, the Lord in a signal manner recognised and established their authority before the people, by granting to them the same spirit of prophecy which he had vouchsafed to Moses; and a circumstance occurred on this occasion, which, as it afforded an evidence of the humility of Moses, and will hereafter also require notice, may be recorded in its proper place. Two of the seventy, named Eldad and Medad, being ceremonially unclean, were not assembled with the rest, when the Spirit was poured out; but they were nevertheless visited by the divine afflatus whilst tarrying in the camp, and began to prophesy; which circumstance being communicated to Moses, Joshua urged him to forbid them; but Moses answered, "Enviest thou for my sake?—Would to God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them!"

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[1] The word *Sanhedrin* סנהדרין is supposed to be derived from the Greek *συνεδριον*, which is one reason why Christian writers have concluded that the council of seventy was discontinued after the time of Moses, and not revived till after the captivity. A more remarkable fact is, that there is no express mention of this council in the Holy Scriptures, after Moses until the time of Christ. At the same time this is by no means conclusive; for there is frequent mention of some sort of assemblage being consulted, consisting of elders, &c., and determining on matters of importance; and the unanimous testimony of the Rabbins is not to be disregarded. (See Selden de Synedreis, lib. ii. c. iv. 8.)

But though the Lord, by the appointment of this council, thus relieved Moses, his displeasure was at the same time kindled against the murmurers. He caused a fire to burst forth upon them, which proved calamitous to those who were on the skirts of the camp; (Numb. xi. 1,) and he visited the whole with a chastisement in kind, their own lust being made the means of inflicting it upon them. He caused vast quantities of quails again to fall exhausted about the camp; on which the people went greedily forth, and picked them up in abundance. The gluttony indulged on this occasion produced a pestilence, which proved fatal to multitudes, insomuch that it is recorded as "a very great plague." These things took place after they had broken up from Mount Sinai, at a station afterwards named *Kibroth Hattaavah,* which signifies "the graves of the greedy," because there they buried those who died from this pestilence.

Scarcely had this chastisement passed away, when a new source of uneasiness arose to Moses, the authors of which were no other than Aaron and Miriam. They were envious, it seems, of the exclusive distinction which God put upon Moses in his communications with him; though there is divine testimony in his behalf, that no man could have carried himself with more of meekness, or have been less assuming under so great honour. Miriam acted the chief part in this sedition, alleging, as the pretended ground of dissatisfaction, that the wife of Moses was a foreigner:[1] apparently availing herself of the recent command against intermarriages with strangers. Both she and Aaron arrogantly claimed equality with Moses, on the ground that God had as much spoken by them as by him; for both were endued with the Spirit of prophecy. The Lord however suddenly interrupted the controversy by demanding their presence at the tabernacle; where he vindicated Moses, rebuked his accusers, and smote Miriam, who appears to have been the most culpable, with leprosy. Aaron was again humbled, and entreated Moses to intercede for Miriam; with which entreaty Moses readily complied, and she was healed. She was nevertheless ordered to be put out of the camp for a week; and the march of the people, though the cloud was taken up, was delayed during that period, that her public disgrace might be more evident, and operate as a warning to others.

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[1] She is called in the sacred narrative a *Cushite*, (Numb. xii. 1,) which is translated an *Ethiopian;* and was apparently an Arabian, descended from Abraham by Keturah.——

The Abbé Fleury brings forward this instance of Moses marrying Zipporah, as a proof that the command not to marry the daughters of the heathen round about was limited to the Canaanites only. He forgets that Moses was married long prior to this command. He instances also Boaz, who married Ruth the Moabitess, and Solomon, who married the daughter of the king of Egypt. But Ruth was evidently joined to the people of God, and a woman of piety: and the Israelites, we shall find, are presently reproved for their intercourse with the daughters of Moab. And the case of Solomon also, instead of being approved, is condemned; inasmuch as the Scriptures ascribe his idolatries to his being seduced by his heathenish wives.

[A.M. 2514.]—The Hebrews having next arrived at a place afterwards called Kadesh Barnea, on the borders of Canaan, Moses, at the suggestion of the people, sent forth spies to explore the country. One person of distinction was chosen from each tribe for this important service, Joshua being selected out of Ephraim, and Caleb out of Judah. The remaining ten appear to have been terror struck; and on their return reported among the people, that the country swarmed with inhabitants, that some of them were giants, and that their cities were walled up to heaven; and though they had brought to Moses, as specimens of the fruits of the land, pomegranates and figs of superior growth, and a bunch of grapes of such amazing size that it was obliged to be borne by two of them upon a staff, yet they equally misrepresented the character of the country, asserting that it was so sterile as to eat up its inhabitants, instead of supporting them. Palpable as was the contradiction between such a statement and the previously alleged myriads and giant stature of the inhabitants, the fears and prejudices of the multitude were nevertheless too easily wrought upon, and a general consternation spread throughout the camp. The night was passed in womanish wailings and complaints; they lamented over their little ones, as if they were a certain prey for the sword; and in the morning they actually revolted from Moses, and proceeded to choose a leader to conduct them back again into Egypt. In vain did Joshua and Caleb endeavour to disabuse them of their erroneous apprehensions; in vain did they express their own confidence that the Canaanites were morally conquered already, and that if Israel did but put their trust in God they would easily prevail: the whole multitude called out to stone them; and both they and Moses and Aaron would have fallen victims to their violence, had not the glory of the Lord again suddenly appeared, and awed them into silence.

This people had now not only repeatedly provoked the Spirit of the Lord, notwithstanding the signs and wonders and the abundant mercies manifested to them; but they had in this instance "despised the pleasant land," and made light of the promised glory. He therefore now proceeds to execute severe judgment upon them. The ten elders, who by their misrepresentations had excited this sedition, were smitten with the plague and immediately cut off. And the whole population above 20 years of age were doomed to exclusion from Canaan, and to wander in the wilderness, until the whole of them should be overtaken by death. On the other hand, Caleb and Joshua were honoured by distinguished promises to them and their families.

The fruits of this rebellion, and also of the apostacy of the people in the instance of the calf, are instructive in a national point of view. Men are prone to treat what they call merely political offences with lightness; and the plagues which may follow are attributed to accidental or independent causes;

but these two instances clearly evince, that national delinquencies are in due season sure to be overtaken by national chastisements.

The perverseness of the people now exhibited itself in an opposite manner. Afflicted at the sentence announced to them by Moses, and desirous to wipe off the reproach of their previous pusillanimity, they determined of their own accord, and spite of the remonstrances of Moses, to attack the inhabitants of the hill-country before them. Ascending therefore into Mount Hor without their leader, and without the ark of the covenant, they were discomfited by the combined forces of the Amalekites and Canaanites, and pursued with considerable loss to Hormah.[1]

One might have concluded, that the chastisements, which invariably fell upon this people for their transgressions, would have proved sufficient to convince them of the vanity and danger of walking contrary to the way of God's appointment. But soon after the events just recorded, a rebellion broke out of a more formidable character than any which had preceded it. It was produced by the ambition of Korah, a Levite of distinction, who secretly coveted the office of high priest, now enjoyed by Aaron; and two Reubenite chieftains, named Dathan and Abiram, who were equally ambitious to wrest the civil authority from the hands of Moses.[1] By their personal influence, and by plausible and artful statements of a democratic tendency, they drew into their conspiracy two hundred and fifty of the principal chiefs and rulers, together with their numerous dependants. They questioned the right of Moses to the sovereignty exercised by him, and of Aaron to the priesthood; and they insisted upon the claim of every individual of the congregation to have a share in the government, and to offer incense to the Lord in their own persons. They affected to be moved in all this by a zeal for Jehovah, a superior measure of consideration for his people, and a desire to advance the interests of religion; whilst at the same time they were pursuing measures directly calculated to subvert the ordinances of God's appointment. Every man's pride however was flattered, and his natural envy gratified, by doctrines which degraded their rulers to their own level, and asserted the equal holiness and dignity of the entire congregation; and they readily therefore took part in the rebellion.

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[1] These Amalekites were Arabians, descendants of Cush, and are sometimes called *Horites*, from their location in mount Hor, where this action took place. The Canaanites who united with them on this occasion are in Deut. i. called *Amorites*, all Canaan being sometimes termed, "the land of the Amorite." (See Amos ii. 9, 10, and note, page 9.) This same Mount *Hor* is likewise called Mount *Seir;* not that it is the same with that Seir, east of Jordan, in the land of Moab, which Esau took possession of; but because Seir, a descendant of his, conquered and drove out the inhabitants. He is called, by way of distinction, "Seir the Horite." Gen. xxxvi. 20.

But the Lord was not slow to vindicate his own majesty and the authority of his anointed delegates. At his command Moses directed Korah and the 250 nobles to take each a censer, and to lay incense thereon, and to appear on the morrow before the tabernacle; declaring that the Lord would then make manifest whom he had chosen. He likewise summoned Dathan and Abiram to come up, but they flatly refused, and returned an insulting answer. At the time appointed Korah appeared, but with a menacing and imposing attitude; being accompanied not only by the nobles whose attendance was required, but also by a large multitude of the people. The seventy chosen elders, with their families and followers, seem to have formed the only exceptions to the revolt, and to have been equally the objects of the popular odium.

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[1] Both the priestly office and the Lordship belonged of right to the first-born, which was Reuben; but that was now taken away from them by the Levitical law, which probably was one cause of their engaging in this rebellion. The privilege of ministering in holy things was given to the Levites, and therefore already enjoyed by Korah; but the office of priest was limited to those Levites who were of the family of Aaron, which therefore excluded Korah.

The glory of Jehovah again appeared, and Moses then proceeded to admonish the whole assembly, that if these evil men (meaning their leaders,) should die an ordinary death, then it should be understood that the Lord had not spoken by him; but that if the Lord should make a new thing come to pass, and the earth should open her mouth and swallow them up alive, then they were to understand that it was the testimony of God to his authority. He next proceeded with the seventy to the tents of Dathan and Abiram, and warned the people to remove from their vicinity and depart, lest they also should be involved in their calamity. Whilst the people but slowly moved away, the ground clave asunder, and the tents of Dathan and Abiram went down, with their inmates shrieking, into the yawning chasm; whilst at the same moment fire came forth from the Lord, and burnt up Korah and the nobles who stood before the tabernacle.[1]

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[1] From a comparison of Numbers xxvi. 11. and Deut. xi. 6. with Numbers xvi. it appears that only the children and household of Dathan and Abiram were swallowed up; and that Korah and the 250 perished by fire, but not their children. The destruction of this company possesses the greater interest from the circumstance that Korah is named, in the epistles of Peter and Jude, as a type of those principles which will characterize the apostacy of the last days.

The insurrection however was not even now subdued. No sooner had the beholders recovered from their terror, than they began to accuse Moses and Aaron of being the murderers of God's people ; their perverted sympathies being excited in behalf of the enemies of God ; and their murmurings being in reality directed against Jehovah himself, by whose Spirit Moses had denounced the rebels and predicted the manner of their death. But the tender mercies of the wicked are always cruel. If by the exercise of a spurious charity they could have prevented the punishment of the transgressors, a state of confusion and apostacy would have followed, which would have involved the whole multitude in destruction : and as it was, they provoked further chastisement, and brought wrath thereby upon the congregation ; who were smitten with pestilence whilst they were still gathered together. Moses no sooner perceived this further calamity, than, forgetting his wrongs, he directed Aaron immediately to take a censer, and make intercession ; whereby the plague was stayed, though not till it had destroyed 14,700 persons.

God condescended in conclusion to give a further testimony, by way of shewing whom he had chosen to the priesthood. He commanded each tribe to take a rod of the almond tree, and inscribe on it the name of the prince of their tribe, and to deposit the whole in the tabernacle ; promising that the rod of the family which he had chosen should bud. On the morrow the rod of Aaron was found bearing leaves, blossoms, and even fruit ; whereupon it was ordered to be laid up with the furniture of the sanctuary, for a perpetual memorial against the rebels, and to remind the people of the true source of the authority of the sons of Levi.

[A.M. 2552.] About 37 years now passed away, during which little is recorded but the journeyings of the people from one place to another, until they arrived in the wilderness of Zin, or Tsin. Here Miriam died; and here the people were again distressed for want of water. Most of that generation which had seen the miracle at the rock in Horeb were now deceased; and it has been asserted, of the generation which had risen up in their place, that they were more trained to obedience to Jehovah by the judgments and wonders they had so repeatedly witnessed.[1] But the history does not bear out the remark: for no sooner were they proved by the Lord, in the same manner as their fathers, than they immediately betrayed the same spirit as their fathers; murmuring against God and against Moses, and regretting that they had not died with those who perished in the last rebellion. The Lord again purposed to afford them a miraculous supply, and he commanded Moses to speak to the rock which was now before them. But in this instance Moses failed, and came short of the glory of God. He appears to have been much excited and perturbed in spirit, and to have struck the rock with his rod, instead of only speaking to it as directed; and contrary to the meekness and humility for which he was so eminent, he spake unadvisedly with his lips, (Psalm cvi. 32, 33,) calling the people *rebels*, and asking "Shall *we* bring you water out of this rock?"—as if the power of so doing belonged to Aaron and himself. The Lord refused not his testimony, and the waters again gushed forth; but he nevertheless charged both Moses and Aaron with unbelief and rebellion against his word, and with failing to sanctify him; declaring that they should not have the privilege of leading Israel into Canaan.[1] (Numb. xx. 12, 24.) To many the offence of Moses will probably appear but trivial; and they will wonder that a man, who had exhibited so much faith and meekness, and had endured such repeated provocations from his countrymen, when disinterestedly seeking their welfare, should, for failing to glorify God on one trying occasion, be punished in like manner with those who were misled by the report of the spies. The event is calculated to set forth only so much the more strikingly the holiness and jealousy of God, who will not pass over in those, who are more eminently partakers of his grace, what might possibly be winked at in men of inferior spiritual attainments. That the sentence had nothing to do with the ultimate portion of Moses is evident from his being ages afterwards seen transfigured in glory on Mount Tabor; but God considered the effect of Moses' example upon others; and for *their* sakes inflicted temporal punishment upon him. (Deut. iii. 26. Luke ix. 30, 31.)

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[1] See Burnet's Boyle's Lecture, vol. ii. p. 193.

Aaron died shortly after this event, in the 123rd year of his age, and was buried on the top of Mount Hor; where the place of his interment is still conspicuous. After having mourned for him thirty days, the people set forth to compass the land of Edom, with a purpose at length of actually entering Canaan. For the Edomites had sternly refused to give them a passage through their territories, though they offered payment for the supplies they might require; and they were strictly forbidden by the Lord to attack the Edomites, and also the Moabites and Ammonites, because they were brethren; the one being, as already related, the children of Esau, and the two latter the posterity of the daughters of Lot. The circuit which the people were consequently obliged to make led them by the most rugged and desolate part of the wilderness, and they again broke out into murmuring against Moses. God chastised them in this instance by bringing on them multitudes of serpents, having the appearance of fire, and whose bite was so venomous that a great mortality ensued. The people in this instance humbly acknowledged their sin; and when Moses interceded for them, God directed him to make the resemblance of one of these serpents in brass, and to rear it up on a pole, declaring that those who should go forth and look upon it should be healed: which accordingly came to pass, in the instance of all whose faith and obedience led them to comply with the means prescribed.[1]

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[1] Both this rock and the one in Horeb were called *Meribah,* i.e. *Temptation;* but the former was likewise called *Massah,* i. e. *chiding* or *strife;* and this, in the wilderness of Zin, was called Meribah-*Kadesh,* near which it was situate. Dr. Pococke states that a rock is still shown in these parts, traditionally called by the Arabs "the rock of God," down which likewise a water channel is traceable.

A series of military achievements concludes the history of the wanderings of Israel in the wilderness. In the previous year, while stationed at Kadesh, they had had a successful encounter with a body of Canaanites, whom they utterly destroyed at Hormah; thus wiping out the disgrace of the defeat, which they had formerly experienced at the same place. And now on their arrival at the territory of the Amorites they sent an embassy to request permission also to pass through their land in a friendly manner, promising to commit no damage, and to pay for all they might need. The request was not only refused, but Sihon their king, rendered confident by recent victories over the Moabites, from whom he had wrested Heshhon and many other cities, (Numb. xxi. 26.) suddenly fell upon the Israelites at Jahaz; being infatuated to make this attack, as a judgment upon him from God whom he had offended. (Deut. ii. 30.) He accordingly met with a signal defeat; and the Hebrews took from him Heshbon, his new capital, and all the towns from Arnon to Jabbok; and pushing on a considerable force to Jaazer, they destroyed or expelled the inhabitants in that direction. This is the first time in the history of Israel that they became possessed of towns and villages.

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[1] This innocuous brazen serpent was a striking type of Him who, in the fulness of time, was made in the likeness of sinful flesh, the seed of the serpent, yet without sin; and who was also lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. (John iii. 14, 15.)

Continuing their march by the way of Bashan, another enemy presented himself in the person of Og, likewise an Amorite prince, and of such gigantic stature that his iron couch was nine cubits long. He came against Israel with all his forces at Edrei; but the Lord delivered him also into their hand, and they overthrew and utterly destroyed him. These two victories are frequently referred to in the sacred songs or psalms of the Israelites. By this second conquest they became possessed of sixty additional walled cities, and were masters of the country on the east of Jordan from the river Arnon to mount Hermon.

After these things the entire people encamped in their newly acquired territory, in the plains on the banks of the Jordan opposite Jericho. This position brought them into the vicinity of Balak, the king of Moab, who notwithstanding what had been wrested from him by Sihon was still powerful. Struck with terror at the signal victories of the Hebrews, he made a league against them with the Midianites, and the Ammonites residing at Ar, who had also been conquered by him.

There dwelt at this time at Pethor in Mesopotamia an eminent diviner or soothsayer, named Balaam. (Joshua xiii. 22.) He appears to have been not altogether unacquainted with Jehovah, and to have been honoured by him at times with divine communications; but covetousness and ambition were his besetting sins, to promote which he scrupled not, when the Lord vouchsafed him no communication, to resort to the practices of magic.[1] From these circumstances, combined with much natural shrewdness, he had obtained an extensive reputation; and Balak concluding that, if he could but obtain the blessing of Balaam on himself, and his curse against Israel, his object would be accomplished, sent to him an embassy. Being strictly admonished of God on this occasion, Balaam refused to accompany the embassy; but on another being sent to him, consisting of princes of superior rank, having authority to assure him of promotion to the highest honours, he sought permission to go, notwithstanding the counsel of God to the contrary had already been expressly declared to him. God now in anger suffered him to proceed; intimating however that he himself should put a word into his mouth. Arrived in Moab, Balaam nevertheless does not hesitate to offer sacrifices in the sanctuaries of Baal, and to seek by enchantments and superstitious arts to prevail against Israel. Three times was sacrifice offered from three different eminences, in the presence of the king of Moab and his princes, who awaited the result with anxious solicitude: but each time the Lord confounded their expectation, and humbled the prophet. Notwithstanding the provocations of Israel they were still beloved for their fathers' sakes, and Balaam was made to declare that God had not beheld their iniquity and perverseness; (in other words, that he exercised his sovereign prerogative in pardoning them;) and that he would punish Moab and all nations which should be opposed to Israel. This signal counteraction of the wicked designs of Balaam is likewise frequently adverted to, in the sacred writings, as a notable instance of God's care for his people.

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[1] The occasional exercise of the gift of prophecy does not appear to have been restricted to holy persons. The seventy elders indiscriminately received this gift, some of whom were nevertheless exceedingly faulty, and all of them worshippers of the golden calf.

Though Balaam was thus frustrated, he nevertheless did not abandon the hope of obtaining the rewards and honors promised to him by Balak. He was by some means acquainted with the strict injunctions given to Israel against idolatry, and against intermarrying or cohabiting with the daughters of their heathen neighbours; and he therefore privately suggested to the king of Moab, that if he could but ensnare the people in this matter, he would bring them as effectually under the wrath of God, as if the curse were imprecated upon them by his mouth. The advice was listened to. The daughters of the Moabites were accustomed at the great festivals of Baal Peor to prostitute themselves in honor of the god; and one of those festivals being now at hand the

Israelites were invited to attend. Some were seduced, others followed the example, and the moral contagion soon spread throughout the camp; many of the princes being also infected by it, and bowing down to the idol. The anger of the Lord was indeed kindled, but in the way of chastisement and correction, and not as a curse to the entire destruction of Israel. The moment the intelligence of this new apostacy reached Moses he promptly directed the judges of Israel to put to death all under their respective authority who had joined themselves to Baal Peor. It does not appear however that this command was obeyed: the same profane reluctance, which had led the people on a former occasion to murmur against the righteous severities of the Lord, now paralyzes the arm of justice, and affects to be more merciful than Jehovah himself. Upon this God again visited them with a pestilence, which commenced its ravages both on the actual transgressors, and the apathetic, and no less guilty, connivers at their sin.

Whilst the congregation gathered about the tabernacle, bewailing before the Lord the disastrous consequences of the plague, an instance occurred of shameless defiance of God, and of contempt for the authority of Moses, which evinces to what an extent the ill-judged forbearance of the magistrates had already encouraged the evil. Zimri, a prince of the house of Simeon, returned from the Midianitish camp, having with him the daughter of one of their nobles, and retired with her to his tent in the observation of all the people. The circumstance kindled the indignation of Phinehas, the son of the high priest, who snatching up a javelin, ran after the offenders into the tent, and slew them both. The plague was immediately arrested, the zeal of Phinehas was specially commended of the Lord, and declared to have been the means of having appeased his wrath; and the people had a practical demonstration before them, in the corpses of 24,000 who died by the pestilence, how much better it had been for the nation if, in the first instance, all the princes had been animated by a like jealousy for God.

The Moabites and Midianites paid still more dearly for having thus seduced the Lord's people to transgress. Moses selected a chosen body of troops, and gave the command to Phinehas, as a distinction for his recent conduct.[1] The enemy was powerless before them: all the males of that portion of the territory attacked were put to death, including five kings, and their cities and fortresses were destroyed by fire. Among the slain was Balaam, who thus early reaped the fruit of his iniquity. The princes and the people went forth to meet the army on its return, not one single individual of which was either lacking or wounded. Moses however rebuked the officers of the host for a second instance of perverseness, in regard to the women; whom they had preserved and brought to the camp, contrary to his express injunctions, and notwithstanding they had been the chief snare to the people; and painful as it must have been to his feelings, a stern sense of duty and of the better interests of his people caused him to direct them to be slain.

The tribes of Reuben and Gad with part of the tribe of Manasseh, observing how well adapted some of the conquered territory was for pasturing cattle in which they chiefly abounded, applied to be permitted to take possession at once of Bashan and Gilead, and to build fortified places as a refuge for their flocks and children; promising to leave these with small garrisons, and to march with the strength of their tribes, till the whole nation was finally located. The request was granted, and to the honour of the applicants they strictly fulfilled the compact.

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[1] Many instances occur which shew, that the priests were not exempt from bearing arms. Benaiah, the son of Jehoida, a priest, was one of David's renowned men. 2 Sam. xxiii. 20.

The victory of the Hebrews over Moab terminates their history previous to their entering Canaan. The various punishments which they had provoked had considerably diminished their numbers. At the period when they made their offerings for the tabernacle, the males above twenty years of age, who offered a bekah or half shekel of silver, amounted to 603,550, exclusive of the Levites. A census of the population was directed to be taken at the present time; and instead of having multiplied, with the prodigious rapidity which characterized the increase of former years, they were *reduced* to 601,730 males; among which there was not a warrior left of those numbered in Sinai, excepting Moses, Joshua, Caleb, and their families: the rest had perished, according as the Lord had denounced against them. (Deut. ii. 14.)

The whole history of this period is eminently calculated to demonstrate the absolute necessity of the true conversion of the heart by the Holy Spirit, before it can be brought into habitual subjection to Almighty God. No miracles, no mercies, no severity of discipline, is sufficient without this: it revolts as soon as the immediate impression has passed away; which, in some instances, (as we have seen,) has been wonderfully transient. It is equally manifest from the history of this period, that it was not on account of any inherent or acquired righteousness of theirs, that God had a favour toward Israel; but (as he declared by Moses,) because he would keep the oath which he sware unto their fathers. (Deut. vii. 8.)

THE HEBREW LAW.

The law given to Israel in Horeb, interwoven as it was with their entire national polity, and calculated therefore so greatly to influence the general character of the people, requires a more particular notice than was given to it in the narrative of its promulgation.

It has been divided into three parts: the *moral*, the *civil*, and the *ceremonial:* though in fact the civil law is little more than the moral commandments of the second table, reduced into particulars, and made applicable to the daily affairs of life and the social intercourse of the people.—

1. For the *moral* law, strictly, consisted only of the ten commandments, or words, which are pre-eminently distinguished above all the other precepts; first, in that they were written by the finger of God upon the two tablets of stone; and, secondly, in that Moses was required to deposit them in the ark of the sanctuary. These ten precepts are so familiarly known, and so frequently expounded, as to make observation on them superfluous, excepting it may be the *fourth*, which under existing circumstances invites a brief remark.

The command respecting the *Sabbath* is by many alleged to be ceremonial, and consequently that the obligation to observe it is not perpetual. But this is to lose sight of the position which it occupied under the Mosaical dispensation. Those which were only ceremonial, or of a character merely adapted to the time state of the Sinai covenant, were directed to be placed *beside* the ark, to signify that they were in a readiness to be removed.[1] But the "ten words," including the Sabbatical precept, being placed *within* the ark, indicated that they were all of them in their nature intrinsically moral, and consequently of perpetual obligation. They were doubtless susceptible of modification, so as to give them an aspect peculiar to the Mosaic dispensation; and thus the Sabbath, which is declared to commemorate the rest of God after the work of creation, had nevertheless a reference to the existing circumstances of the Hebrews. But the substantial consideration in the precept, viz. that God requires of man to worship him with a seventh portion of his time, and to hallow that seventh portion, is of perpetual obligation: unless it can be shewn that the remaining nine precepts, with which it is combined, are likewise limited in their obligation to the period of the Mosaic dispensation.

2. The judgments and statutes, constituting the *civil* law, next demand attention. These have been greatly misapprehended. The impression of many is that they are burthensome and unmeaning, that they communicated a harshness to the Jewish character, and are altogether unworthy the attention of enlightened legislators.[2] But a brief notice of its principal

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[1] Our version expresses it, as to be put *in the side* of the ark. But there was no aperture for it there, and the Septuagint has *εκ πλαγιων*, "*by* the side." See Owen on the Sabbath.

[2] Cicero, who considered the entire Hebrew polity altogether unsuited to the dignity of the Roman people, most probably knew it only through the medium of the Rabbins dwelling in Italy, who greatly disfigured it by their traditions, and their absurd expositions.

particulars will best serve to illustrate its real character, and prove that these impressions are erroneous.

The punishment of death was enjoined for murder, bestiality, sodomy, witchcraft, the sacrificing to any other God than Jehovah, and the sacrificing their children to Moloch.[1] The three latter instances may at first view seem to have a severe and sanguinary complexion; but when it is considered that these offences, by encouraging men to depart from God, necessarily led to the impurities and cruelties of idolatry, and so to the reckless commission of the three former offences, the enactments must be viewed as preventive and humane. Cities of refuge, or sanctuaries, were likewise appointed; to which the manslayer might flee, if the homicide were accidental or proceeded from sudden provocation. Beyond the boundaries of these cities the next of kin was at liberty to avenge the blood of the deceased; but this only till the death of the high priest, when the offender was at full liberty to go where he pleased. Moreover to kill a house-breaker during the night was a justifiable homicide; but it was not justifiable after sunrise: the thief was then to be mulcted in penalties, and sold in default of payment.

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[1] The practice of sacrificing children as burnt-offerings appears, from Sanchoniatho, the Phœnician historian, to have been derived from Ham, the father of Canaan, and therefore naturally prevalent in the nations of Canaan, of which Phœnicia constituted a part. He mentions it in two places: in his treatise on the Generations he says, 'that when there happened a great plague and mortality, Cronus (which is *Ham*) offered up his only begotten son as a sacrifice to Ouranus (or Noah), and circumcised himself, and constrained his allies to do the same.' There is obviously here a corruption of the history of Abraham and Isaac. Then in his Treatise on the Mystical Sacrifice of the Phœnicians, he says, 'It was customary among the ancients, in times of great calamity, in order to prevent the destruction of all, for the ruler of the city or nation to sacrifice to the avenging deities the most beloved of their children, as the price of their redemption.' And he goes on to say, that Cronus, who had an only son by a nymph called Anobret, when great dangers beset the land, invested this son with the emblems of royalty, and sacrificed him. (Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. c. 10. and iv. c. 17.) The sacrifice of children to Moloch was practised in Africa in the time of Tertullian. See Apolog. c. 9.

Besides the above, man-stealing for the purpose of slavery was a capital offence. A stubborn and rebellious son might likewise, on the complaint of his parents, be stoned to death at the discretion of the judges; and if such a one had cursed his father or mother, the sentence was imperative. But the judges were not authorized to put an accused person to death on the testimony of a single witness, excepting in the case of adultery, which was also punishable with death; but for the discovery of which a peculiar method was adopted, called *the water of jealousy*.[1]

The chastity of unmarried females was carefully protected. In cases of seduction the man was compelled to marry the woman, unless the parents objected, in which case he was obliged to give her a dowry. Even those females whom they purchased as slaves, or took captives in war, were not subjected to the caprice and tyranny of a brutal sensuality. If the owner abused a captive, he was required to marry her: if he refused to do this, the woman was entitled to her freedom.

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[1] It is important also to observe, that the sentence denounced in many instances is, that God will "cut off from his people" the offender, without defining the *mode* of punishment. These are not cases, generally speaking, which could become known to the magistrate; unless the party offending made voluntary confession. (See for an example, Lev. vii. 20, 21.) Neither do we find it recorded, that the Lord commonly visited offenders of this class with temporal judgments, by which they were prematurely cut off. Such denunciations therefore must necessarily have had respect to the judgment after death, and referred to the cutting off of such from the congregation of the saints; and they shew that those are in error who with Bishop Warburton conclude, that the Mosaic ritual and Old Testament revelation related only to temporal threats and promises.

Slavery indeed in general, though permitted, was protected by various enactments. A man was punishable for the life of his servant, if he died by the rod under his hand; and if he struck out the eye or tooth of his servant, the latter was entitled to his liberty. Further, when a slave was discharged, (many being bound only for a limited period,) the master was required to provide him with a sufficiency of food and clothing for a certain time.

Theft was punished by a payment of from two to five fold, according to circumstances; and even if a man found anything, and improperly detained it, he was made to restore it, and a fifth of its value besides.

Benevolence and consideration for the poor were strongly inculcated. Large gleanings were required to be left for them, both in the fields and vineyards; and every third year, in addition to the annual taxes, they were commanded to give a tithe of all their increase to be divided between the orphan, the widow, and the stranger. These they were likewise strictly forbidden to vex or oppress; the neglect of which precept was the declared cause, in after ages, of national calamity brought on them by the Lord. They were forbidden also to take interest of a Hebrew for a loan; and every seventh year a release of all debts was proclaimed, which greatly tended to prevent the rich from oppressing the poor. The magistrate was on the same account forbidden to take gifts from the rich, lest he should be biassed against the poor man, when his cause came before him. He was however equally admonished, not unduly to countenance the poor man in his cause: the popular artifice of unprincipled demagogues, whereby they have become oppressors of the *rich*, and proved dangerous to the peace and liberty of the community at large.

Other enactments inculcated due consideration for the life and property of each other. They were required to erect battlements or parapets on the roofs of their houses, lest any should fall from thence. They were not to see stray cattle without endeavouring to retrieve them; and were to aid their neighbour in extricating his beast, when it had fallen into a pit. If a man had a mischievous beast and was not careful to keep it up, and it gored a person to death, the beast was to be killed, and his flesh destroyed, and the owner sentenced to death: his life however might be redeemed by a ransom. If it were a beast only that was gored, the owner was subject to a pecuniary fine. If also by a fire, carelessly made or left, a neighbour's standing corn was consumed, recompense was awarded.

These humane and considerate feelings towards each other would be further promoted, and their affections softened, by what was enjoined even in regard to animals; in that they were forbidden to boil a kid in its mother's milk;—to kill the cow or ewe and their young for sacrifice on the same day;—to take the young of birds and the parent together;—and to muzzle the ox which trod out the corn.

There was a regard also had in the law for the infirmities and natural weaknesses of men under peculiar circumstances. A newly married man was exempt from warfare and from public office during the first year of matrimony. And so when ordered to battle,—the man who had built a house and had not dedicated it, or who had betrothed a wife and not taken her, or who had planted a vineyard and not partaken of it, was permitted to withdraw.

In regard also to planting a vineyard or an orchard, they were taught by a remarkable enactment their dependance on God for the increase. The fruit produced in the three first years was accounted *uncircumcised,* and therefore not to be used at all; the produce of the fourth year was holy, and to be dedicated to the Lord; and not till the fifth year were they allowed to consume the produce themselves: a special promise of increase being given, if these directions were attended to.

Moreover they were required to shew honour to the aged by rising up before them. They were specially admonished not to revile the gods (i. e. the *judges* or *rulers* of the people, who were in the place of God in the administration of his laws;) nor were they to curse the deaf or the infirm, but to walk with humility and charity.

When these humane and righteous enactments are properly considered, we are led to exclaim with Moses himself, "What nation is so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous, as all this law which I set before you this day?" "These statutes (he says) are your wisdom and understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear of them and say,—*Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people!*" (Deut. iv. 6—8.)

3. Proceeding next to the *Ceremonial* or *Levitical* law, (as it is sometimes called, inasmuch as the Levites administered and had charge of its ordinances,) we must first notice the tabernacle.

The square framing, or substantial portion of it, consisted of planks of shittim wood,[1] overlaid with gold and set up on end. (Exod. xxvi. 15.) They were forty-eight in number;—twenty for each side, northward and southward; and eight for the west end. The eastern end, or entrance, was left open with five pillars of the same material; the capitals and fillets of which were covered with gold, and the sockets into which they were fixed made of brass.[2] The planks were 10 cubits in length (or rather in height, when set up,) and 1½ cubits in width; and were kept firm in their places by two tenons or points at the bottom of each, which fixed into silver sockets, fastened into the ground, the whole being braced together by five rows of bars (made also of shittim wood, covered with gold,) which ran through rings of gold, fixed on the back of the boards. They thus presented in the interior an even surface of gold. Upon these were suspended on each side, and lapping over the west end, ten curtains of fine linen of blue, purple, and scarlet, embroidered with cherubim; each curtain being 28 cubits long, and 4 in breadth, and coupled together by golden hooks and loops of blue, so as to form one tent. The roof or covering was formed of rams' skins, dyed red. Over the whole was an outer case or tent of more durable materials, consisting of eleven curtains, each 30 cubits long, made of goat's hair, (probably in texture like the cashmere shawls, which are made of the same material,) and fastened together with brass hooks. The roof of this outer case was of badgers' skins.

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[1] The shittim wood, exclusively used in the tabernacle and its furniture, is supposed to have been the black acacia, a hard wood, common in the deserts of Arabia. Its being *common* however renders the supposition improbable; for it was offered by the people as a *valuable*, whereas had it been common in the deserts, it would have been cut down as needed.

[2] The door or entrance both of the court and tabernacle was in the east, whereby the worshippers necessarily turned their *backs* toward the east, and not their faces, as some have erroneously supposed.

The interior was divided into two unequal portions by four pillars of shittim wood and gold, fixed into bases or sockets of silver, on which was suspended by hooks another curtain or veil, made of the same material and pattern with those on the walls. The larger division of the interior, called the *sanctuary* or *holy place*, was next the entrance, and the smaller or inner sanctuary, called the *holy of holies*, was in the west. It was set up in an enclosure 100 cubits long, and 50 wide; the fence of which consisted of hangings of fine twined linen, supported by brazen pillars of 5 cubits in height, with silver fillets and hooks. There was a curtain before the entrance of blue, purple and scarlet, supported by four pillars; and another also at the entrance of the tabernacle itself.[1]

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[1] I have described the Tabernacle as it appears to my own apprehension, after having carefully considered every place in which it is mentioned in the holy scriptures; but it is one of the difficulties thereof; and no representation or description of it which I have met with is satisfactory to my own mind. We have not the pattern or plan shewn to Moses in the mount, and no where are its general dimensions of length, breadth, and height described. It has generally been supposed to have been 45 feet long by 15 feet wide, the inner sanctuary being 15 feet of the total length; but this is supposing the cubit to have been the Roman measure, which is impossible, inasmuch as the Romans were not in existence at this period. According to Dr. Arbuthnot, the cubit of the scriptures was 1 foot 9,888 inches. Twenty boards therefore of 1½ cubits each in width would make it about 55 feet in length. The difficulty in determining the *width* arises from the circumstance of our not knowing whether the west end was a straight line, or of some other figure. The latter appears the more probable: for it is said that there were six boards for the *sides* (in the *plural*) of the tabernacle westward. (Exodus xxxvi. 27.) It it is true that the Septuagint and Vulgate have here, for "the west *side*," in the singular; but verse 28 says fur-

The furniture within the tabernacle consisted of an altar of incense, a table, and an ark, in which was deposited the law, the pot of manna, and Aaron's

ther, "and the two boards made he for the *corners* of the tabernacle in the *two* sides; which, if it refers not to two sides *westward*, must mean the north and south sides, and precludes the idea that the whole eight boards were set up in a straight line on the west end. Their separate mention renders it probable that the angles were obtuse, or cut off; which would, of course, in a slight degree, diminish the width. The description of the hanging of the curtains does not remove the difficulty. The eleventh curtain of goat's hair was to be "doubled in the fore front of the tabernacle." The width of the curtain was only 4 cubits, or about seven feet; (Ex. xxvi. 8, 9.) if it were hung perpendicularly it could not have closed an aperture which must have been at least 9 cubits; and if horizontally, by the curtains being thrown entirely over the tabernacle, it would only hang a few feet from the top. Verses 12, 13 describe that a *half* curtain would remain to hang over the back of the tabernacle, and a cubit on each side to hang north and south. Josephus seems to have concluded that the blue curtains entirely covered it at top and sides and ends; for he says that its appearance was like the azure of the firmament. But the blue was, at all events, the *inner* covering; the goats' hair curtains and the badger's-skin awning were what would be seen externally; and as Josephus never saw it, and lived not for many centuries after it was done away with, his inference is merely imaginative. It is difficult to conceive how there was anything to spare in the curtains at all, since the five made of fine linen were only 28 cubits long and 20 cubits in width when joined, and the 20 boards, forming the length of the tabernacle, were 30 cubits. And we are likewise ignorant of its height. The boards were only 10 cubits high, or about 17 feet 6 inches. What sort of framework there was to support the roofing does not appear; i. e. whether the curtains and ram-skins were drawn over at top, so as to form a strait, horizontal roofing like our chambers, or whether the pillars in front and of the sanctuary were all of the same height, and that the height of the boards, viz. 10 cubits. Bishop Patrick understands the covering of the roof to have been four-fold: viz., that both the blue and the goat's-skin curtains were thrown over it; and likewise the rams' and the badgers' skins. Mr. Scott says, "The ten curtains were 40 cubits wide,—yet the sanctuary was not more than 30 cubits long;" from which he evidently concludes, that the whole ten curtains were suspended on one side, and that the extra length passed over the roof or down the opposite side, both sets of curtains forming a double covering to the roof, as Bishop Patrick concludes. But in this case the blue curtains with cherubim would fall between the boards and the outer covering of goats' hair, and would not be seen in the interior, except on the top or roof. Yet Ex. xl. 19, appears to countenance this supposition.

rod. These were also of shittim wood, covered with gold, and transported by means of staves of the same materials. Placed upon the ark was a mercy-seat of pure gold, with two cherubs of beaten gold on it, one at each end, their faces being inward, toward the mercy-seat, and their wings on high and covering it. Upon this mercy-seat the Lord promised to commune with Israel. The altar of incense was before the mercy-seat, and on it the priest burnt incense every night and morning, when he dressed the lamps: an emblem of the prayer and praise which Christ continually offers for his people. On the north side was placed the table, and on it were constantly twelve loaves of bread, in two rows, which were renewed every Sabbath. There was also frankincense on each row, and dishes, bowls, covers and spoons, all of pure gold. On account of the bread thus exhibited, it was called, *The table of shew-bread;* and the object of it appears to have been, to keep the people in remembrance continually of man's dependance upon God for bread, both temporal and spiritual.

Opposite to this table, on the south side, was a golden candlestick, consisting of one central stem, bearing a lamp and six branches. These seven lamps were continually burning night and day; and would admonish the Israelite of the need of divine illumination, and of continually letting his own light shine.

The furniture of the outer court consisted of an altar for burnt-offerings made of shittim wood, overlaid with brass: on which, when the tabernacle was pitched, a fire was continually burning. It stood about midway between the entrance of the tabernacle; and a platform of the same materials led up to it. Between that, and nearer to the tabernacle, was placed a brazen bath or laver; at which the high-priest and his sons washed their hands and feet, as often as they went into the tabernacle to minister to the Lord; which would remind them that men should wash their hands in *innocency*, and so compass God's altar. All the vessels and utensils of the outer court were of brass: those of the sanctuary of gold.

The garments of the chief priests were costly, and apparently designed to be both ornamental and significant. They consisted of an ephod, a broidered coat, a robe, a girdle, a breast-plate, and a mitre. The ephod or vest and its girdle were of fine twined linen, blue, purple and scarlet, and embroidered with gold. On the shoulders it was joined together by two onyx stones, set in gold, one on each shoulder, having engraved on them the names of the twelve tribes. The breast-plate was in part of similar materials to the ephod. But twelve different precious stones were set in it; each one having the name of one of the tribes inscribed on it; a circumstance which shews that the art of engraving on stones was known in those days. The breast-plate was fastened to the shoulder-pieces or onyx stones of the ephod by gold chains of wreath-work; and it was bound fast, over the *heart* of the high priest, by other chains passing round him and fastened to the girdle: most expressive of the love which the great High Priest bears to his people. The *Urim* and *Thummim* are likewise directed to be put in the breast-plate; but of these there is no description in the sacred writings, and the learned have in vain sought to discover precisely what they were. The Urim plainly appears to have been used in the way of an oracle by itself; (1 Sam. xxviii. 6.) and the breast-plate was likewise called "the breast-plate of judgment."[1] The robe of the ephod was entirely of blue, having a hem or border adorned with embroidered pomegranates and golden bells: the bells intended to give notice of the entrance of the high priest into the tabernacle and his exit; the pomegranates possibly to remind him that there must be *fruit* as well as *sound*. The coat and the mitre, or turban, were of fine linen; and upon the forehead, attached to the mitre, was a fillet or diadem of gold, having engraved upon it "*Holiness to the Lord;*" that whilst Aaron bore the iniquity of the people, they might be reminded, and he also, of the necessity of that holiness without which no man shall see the Lord. (Heb. xii. 14.) Coats and bonnets, beautiful also but less magnificent, were made for the other priests.

The tribe of Levi was separated from the rest of the people for the service of God, expressly in lieu of the first-born of every tribe, who were otherwise holy to the Lord. (Numb. iii. 11.) But only Aaron and his descendants were allowed to be *priests*. For the support of the Levites and priests a tithe of the property of the people was annually required to be paid; and the priests had in addition the sacrifices and offerings made to the Lord; which is what some understand by Jehovah calling himself their *portion*. Forty-eight cities were appointed for their dwelling places, having each a suburb of about an English mile in radius from the walls of their city. The priests and Levites were likewise the persons chiefly appointed as magistrates; and at all times there was an appeal to them in cases of difficulty, and from them to the High Priest, and the party refusing to submit to their verdict was to be put to death. (Deut. xvii. 9—12 and xxi. 5.)

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[1] It has been thought that they consisted of a light shining on the breastplate, and on particular letters of the names engraven thereon. Bnt this does not comport with its being written, that Moses, when he first attired Aaron, having put on him the breastplate, "*also* put *in* the breastplate the Urim and Thummim." Lev. viii. 8.

The ordinances which more especially constituted the ceremonial law consisted chiefly in sacrifices, offerings and festivals. The first class of sacrifices and offerings was *national*. A kid of the goats was slain every morning, as a sacrifice for the sins of the whole people; and two lambs were offered daily, one in the morning and one in the evening, as a burnt-offering or thanksgiving. These offerings were accompanied by a prescribed quantity of flour and oil for a meat-offering, and of wine which was poured out in the holy place for a drink-offering; and on the Sabbath day *two* lambs were offered night and morning, and a double quantity of the accompaniments. Thus were the Israelites daily reminded that they were sinners, and that their continued existence was owing to mercy. And thus daily also they offered a national sacrifice of praise for the manifold blessings they enjoyed.

In the beginning of every month there was a larger sacrifice than usual. And once a year (viz. the 10th day of the 7th month) there was a solemn humiliation for sin, called *the great day of atonement.*

The second class of sacrifices and offerings was for *individuals.* Some of the offerings were voluntary, others were enjoined. There was also a considerable distinction in the value of the offerings prescribed for different sins, and for different persons also, according to their rank: the more exalted offender being considered the greater sinner. The restricted limits of this volume will not admit of a more particular description of them.

Besides the notice of particular trespasses, persons were likewise pronounced *unclean* on various occasions, when, though they were not guilty of actual sin, they were accounted as having contracted defilement. Leprosy has generally been considered typical of the disease and pollution of the soul: a person afflicted with this scourge was consequently accounted unclean; so was he who touched a leper; and also he who touched a dead body. Besides the typical characteristics of leprosy and death, as regards sin, they would also serve to remind the people of the disastrous consequences of sin, of which they are the fruits. There was also a regard to the health of the community, in thus separating them from the congregation after the touch of a leper and on the appearance of leprosy itself; and other causes of ceremonial uncleanness were well calculated to promote purity of mind and an abhorrence of what is naturally disgusting.[1]

A regard to health was probably a reason also why the Hebrews were prohibited from eating certain meats, and especially from eating *blood*, the most unsuitable and indigestible of all articles pretending to the name of aliment. There is however a further reason given for the prohibition of blood; viz. that it is the *life* of the animal, and consequently typical of that which is forfeited by man.

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[1] A regulation is given in Deuteronomy xxiii. 13—14, concerning their having each man a paddle to his weapon, and a cause assigned for it, which remarkably illustrates this matter; and sets forth in a striking manner the decorum and propriety which ought to be observed by those who fear God, even in their most retired and solitary actions.

Some animals were likewise forbidden, because, as is conjectured, they were objects of idolatrous worship by the heathen: the hypothesis is improbable; as in that case the ram and the calf must have been prohibited, since they were both objects of worship. An animal being an object of worship by the heathen would have been a more probable reason why the Hebrews should have been permitted to eat it; lest a systematic refraining from it should have been mistaken for a sacred veneration for it; and nothing was more jealously guarded against than any imitation of, or conformity to, heathen superstition. The Hebrews were strictly, on this account, forbidden to offer sacrifices any where but at the door of the tabernacle. (Lev. xvii. 7.) For the same reason they were not to round the corners of their heads, nor to cut themselves or make any baldness between the eyes for the dead, nor to puncture the skin. (Deut. xiv. 1.) So that instead of the Mosaic ritual being borrowed from the laws and customs of other nations, (as some have most erroneously imagined and written,) the manners and customs of the heathen were most studiously avoided. Hence likewise the descendants of strangers, naturalized amongst them, could not be members of the national council till several generations after, that they might become weaned from their inveterate idolatries.[1] How contrary does the principle appear which advocates the introduction of persons into the senate of a Christian and Protestant nation, without any security for their conformity to the religious institutions thereof.

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[1] The Edomites and Egyptians were among the most favoured; the first because they were brothers, and the latter because Israel had been strangers in their land. Their descendants therefore were re-

Finally must be noticed the principal religious *festivals* of the Hebrews. Three times in the year all the males throughout Israel were required to appear before the Lord, at the place where the tabernacle might be pitched at the time. The first occasion was the feast of the *Passover;* the second, the feast of *Pentecost,* or *Weeks;* and the third, the feast of *Tabernacles.* They were all commemorative of some *past* event, and typical of some *future* one.

The *Passover* was also called "*the feast of unleavened bread.*" It began on the 14th of the first month, by the putting away all leaven, and eating only unleavened bread. This feast was commemorative of two circumstances, connected with the deliverance from Egypt. The first, (which has been noticed,) was the angel *passing over* the families of Israel, when he smote the first-born of Egypt; the second was their having no opportunity to leaven their bread on account of the preparation for their departure. On this day, in the fulfilment of the type, Christ, the true passover, who *passes over* the transgression of the remnant of his heritage, was crucified for them, thus making the atonement.

Fifty days after the Passover was the feast of *Weeks,* or *Pentecost,* so called from the Hebrews being directed to number seven sevens, or weeks, from the Passover; and the feast itself was on the day following, or the *fiftieth* day, to which the word *Pentecost* refers. This was the beginning of harvest, a

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ceived in their third generation. But the Moabites and Ammonites, who, it will be remembered, were Lot's incestuous posterity, were excluded to the tenth generation. (Lev. xi. 1. Deut. xxiii. 2—8.)

sheaf of the first fruits of which was brought in and waved before the Lord; whence also this festival was called "*the feast of First Fruits.*" It commemorated the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai, which was fifty days after the departure from Egypt. Its antitypes under the gospel are the giving of the first fruits of the Holy Spirit, and the writing of the law of God in the fleshly tables of the *hearts* of his people by the same Spirit.

On the fifteenth of the seventh month[1] was observed the feast of *Tabernacles*, in commemoration of the nation sitting quietly and securely under tents made of boughs of goodly trees, after the Lord had brought

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[1] Having had frequent occasion to refer to their months, it will prove convenient to explain, that they counted the year from two different points. Previous to the Exodus, the new year commenced always at the autumnal equinox, which was the conclusion of harvest; but when the Passover was appointed, on the night of their deliverance from Egypt, they were expressly directed to make it the commencement of a *new* year. This new year, therefore, began at the vernal equinox, when the green corn was beginning to appear; and the two equinoxes now each began, and served to regulate, a different year. The new year commencing at the vernal equinox was their sacred or ecclesiastical year; the old year, beginning with the new moon which followed the autumnal equinox, was still retained for merely civil purposes. The months of their ecclesiastical year were lunar, each consisting alternately of 29 and 30 days. But as this would every year cause a loss of upwards of 11 days, they occasionally intercalated a month. The months are as follow:—

1st, Nisan	beginning	21 March.
2d, Zif, or Ijar	do.	20 April.
3d, Sivan	do.	20 May.
4th, Tamuz	do.	19 June.
5th, Ab	do.	18 July.
6th, Elul	do.	17 August.
7th, Tisri, or Ethanim	do.	15 September.
8th, Bul, or Mareshnan	do.	15 October.
9th, Chisleu	do.	13 November.
10th, Tebeth	do.	13 December.
11th, Sebat	do.	11 January.
12th, Adar	do.	10 February.

The intercalated month was called *Ve-Adar,* i. e. "another Adar." (See Fleury's Customs of the Israelites.)

them out of Egypt. (Lev. xxiii. 43.) It was the final ingathering of the harvest (hence called likewise "*the feast of Ingathering*,") and it was the end also of the vintage, and of the old or civil year. Its antitypes under the gospel dispensation have not yet been seen; but it manifestly refers to the glorious period when the great year of the sojourning of Christ's church in the world shall be run out; when the ingathering or final completion of the number of his people shall be accomplished; when he will also tread the *wine-press* in his fury; and Israel shall finally dwell securely, each under his own vine and his own fig-tree.

There were some other festivals of eminence besides the three noticed. Nearly connected with the feast of Tabernacles was *the feast of Trumpets;* so called from the blowing of trumpets by which it was celebrated. It was held on the first day of the new moon, which occurred in the seventh month, which was the beginning of the old Hebrew year, and was supposed to be the time when the world was first created. Its antitype appears to be the *re*-creation, when Christ shall make all things new. (Isa. lxv. 17.)

There were three special *sabbaths*, or periods of rest. The first was the *seventh day sabbath*, the observance of which was particularly insisted upon, as a test of their obedience, and as a *sign* that God had sanctified or set them apart as a people for himself.

Secondly, every *seventh year* was a sabbath for the *land*, during which they were required to let it remain fallow. The spontaneous produce thereof, arising from the dropped seed of the previous year, was entirely for the use of the poor; God promising to the owners of the land an increase in the sixth year, equal to the produce of two years. These sabbaths were typical of the rest which remaineth for the people of God.

And, thirdly, was the *great sabbatical* YEAR, or *Jubilee*, which occurred after every seven *shemitahs*, or periods of seven years; the next, or fiftieth year, being proclaimed as the year of Jubilee, by a great blowing of *Trumpets;* from which word indeed (*Trumpets*, i. e. *Jubelim*) it derives its name. In this year liberty was proclaimed to all. Every bond servant, whether Israelite or stranger, was emancipated. Every debtor had the sums he stood indebted cancelled. Every one who had mortgaged his estate, now received his land again: for land could not legally be sold in perpetuity, but was only leased out for the term of years which had to run till the next jubilee occurred. The whole was a striking type of "the times of restitution of all things," (Acts iii. 21,) spoken of by the prophets, when the great trumpet shall be blown, and those believers who now groan in bondage shall be delivered into the glorious liberty of the children of God, all debts or trespasses being forgiven.

Such was the law given to the people in Horeb! Holy, beneficent, and righteous, it was designed and calculated both to elevate the character of the people, and to render them happy in proportion as they were obedient to it. At the same time, however, the holiness of this law, and the rigour of some portions of its ceremonial,—especially those ordinances which related to uncleanness, and voluntary and involuntary trespasses,—were well suited to subserve the purposes of that intermediate dispensation which was ultimately to lead them to Christ. For even the Israelites, who were the most favoured and, notwithstanding their transgressions, the most moral people of the world, were nevertheless very far from entertaining adequate notions of the holiness and power of God, or of their own fallen condition; and this law was fitted and intended to make manifest to them their natural apostacy, infidelity, and sinfulness, and thus in the end to prepare them, like a schoolmaster, for the Christian dispensation.

Previous to his decease, and whilst the people sojourned at their last station, Moses wrote again the whole Law, which was called *Deuteronomy*, or *the Second Law*, in consequence of its being thus recapitulated or digested; and also because he required of the new generation, which had risen up since it was first given in Horeb, to pledge themselves to its observance. On this occasion it was an entire congregation of Israel that was summoned; consisting of the captains and elders, the people generally, their wives and little ones, and all strangers likewise, from the hewer of wood to the drawer of water. (Deut. xxix.) Great blessings were promised to them if they obeyed this law, and awful denunciations were added if they were disobedient, or turned to serve idols. They were then to be visited with plague, pestilence, famine, and sore diseases; they were to be smitten before their enemies, and exposed to rebuke and oppression; and finally they were to be removed into all kingdoms, and given up to judicial blindness and madness of heart, to grope in the dark, as it were, with noon-day light about them. (Deut. xxviii.)

The people pledged their obedience by a solemn covenant, and the law was then consigned by Moses to the charge of the priests, who were directed on every sabbatical year, at the feast of Tabernacles, to rehearse it in the ears of the assembled people. Another copy was appointed to be made for the *King*, or (as we may presume) for the judge or ruler under God during the Theocracy.

Moses having accomplished these things, and solemnly appointed Joshua his successor, the Lord now directed him to ascend into Pisgah, an eminence of Mount Abarim, opposite Jericho, from whence he was permitted to survey from a distance the land of promise, and thus to gladden his heart with the earnest of those "days afar off," when he and his pious forefathers should enjoy the fulness of the covenant made with them, and have their inheritance with Israel under a better and more glorious dispensation. And there he died, at the age of 120 years, his eye not being dim nor his natural force abated. A public mourning was observed for him during thirty days; but the Lord caused him to be privately interred in a valley in the land of Moab, and carefully concealed the place of his sepulture; lest the excessive veneration for his memory, which he foresaw the Israelites would afterwards entertain, should lead to an idolatrous worship of his remains.

The wisdom which appeared in Moses as a legislator and military leader have been by some ascribed to his own tact; and he has been presumed to have had some private and special object in view, connected with the government and subjugation of Israel, in every law which he enacted, and every political measure which was adopted. But to speak of the 'daring boldness' of his predictions and the 'clever policy and adroitness of his measures,'[1] is to lose sight of the fact, that he was throughout nothing but an agent acting under the express command and immediate direction of Jehovah ; and that in the only instance in which he appears to have forgotten this, he drew upon himself a public rebuke from the Almighty, and was excluded from the temporary inheritance of the land of Canaan. His character, nevertheless, as the minister of God, in that very exalted but very trying station to which he was called, has its own peculiar excellences ; and his meekness, his modesty, his forbearance, his disinterestedness, his faith and courage, are worthy of our highest admiration. Nothing can be more evident than that he lived for God and for Israel, and not for himself. Twice the Lord proposed to him to reject Israel, promising that he would aggrandize his immediate posterity; and twice did Moses decidedly and with the purest patriotism put it from him. Had he been influenced by motives of private ambition, and in the habit of exercising the political dexterity and craft which have been attributed to him, he might undoubtedly have secured for his own children the succession to the command which he himself enjoyed, and have converted the constitution given to the Hebrews into an hereditary monarchy. But his own children were entirely passed over, and left upon a level with the other Levites, without even a territorial possession. The office of high priest was conferred upon the descendants of his brother, and the imperatorship was given (as we have just seen) to Joshua; whilst the people in general enjoyed the largest measure of freedom compatible with happiness.

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[1] See Milman's History of the Jews.

CHAPTER IV.

THE JUDGES OF ISRAEL, OR PERIOD OF THE THEOCRACY.

[A.M. 2553.] The time was now arrived when the Hebrews were to take possession of Canaan: as soon therefore as the days of mourning for Moses were past, Joshua commanded them to prepare victuals for a march. Up to this period they had been miraculously sustained by the supply of manna; but now they were about to be left to the ordinary means of God's providence; for the manna ceased to fall immediately on their quitting the wilderness; and the guidance of the host by the pillar and the cloud was likewise apparently discontinued at the same time. And not only had Israel been marvellously fed and directed hitherto, but their raiment also had not become worn during the whole forty years, nor had they ever suffered in their marches from swollen feet: a beautiful type of the blessedness of those who spiritually follow Christ; whose feet are shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; who are clothed with a robe of righteousness, never failing and never fading; who have the light of life continually with them, and whose temporal and spiritual wants are constantly supplied!

The depravity of the Canaanites has been already noticed, (see page 8.) Moses, in his last instructions, again adverted to their superstitious and evil practices,[1] and strictly enjoined the people to make no covenant with them, but to destroy them; lest they should prove a means of corrupting their children, and thus of bringing wrath upon Israel;—an admonition which the events narrated in the present chapter will prove not to have been unnecessary. They were likewise commanded to break down or burn their altars, images, and pillars, and also the gold and silver ornaments of their idols, and to obliterate the very names of their deities, lest by any means they might become ensnared thereby. (Deut. vii. and xii.) Excepting the gold and silver, and the brass and iron vessels, (which were to be purified by fire, and then consecrated to the Lord,) nothing of the spoil of the seven nations was to be retained,—not even the cattle, a fact which evinces that the Hebrews were not incited to the conquest of Canaan by the lust of plunder; but that they were instruments in the hands of God for the punishment of its inhabitants.

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[1] Eight different classes of evil-workers are enumerated by Moses, (see Deut. xviii.) which throws some light upon the superstitions of the Canaanites. [1.] *Persons who used divination.* These cast arrows in the air and let them fall, to decide in what direction the parties consulting should march or travel. They likewise inspected the entrails of beasts; they drew the lots; and they consulted the teraphim, or little images of their gods. [2.] *Consulters of familiar spirits.* From the Septuagint calling these *ενγαστριμυϑαε* they are supposed by some to have possessed an acquired power of *gastriloquy.* But Isaiah xxix. 4, and other scriptures, show it to have been a real possession. Dr. Wolff mentions an Arab whom he saw thus possessed; and the spirit within him spake in a different voice, while the man continued his conversation in his own voice. Daubuz adduces many authorities on this subject, in his learned work on the Apocalypse, fol. 1053; and see also the case mentioned Acts xvi. 16. [3.] The *enchanters* appear to have been little different from *diviners.* They are called in the Hebrew מנחש, and in the Sept. *οιωνιζομενοι,* those who judged by omens or augury. [4.] *Witches.* The word is the same in the Hebrew as that translated *magicians*—מכשף, from כשף, to *mutter,* because it is supposed they used a muttering noise whilst practising their incantations. The Septuagint calls them *φαϱμακοι,* i. e. persons who prepared drugs as magical charms. [5.] *Wizards,* i. e. wise men, or pretenders to divine knowledge. [6.] *Necromancers,* persons who consulted the dead; see Isaiah viii. 19. Saul sought for one "who had the spirit of *Ob.*" (So the Hebrew, אוב) [7.] *Charmers,* were much the same as witches. Such a one used incantations, and is called in the Sept. *επαειδων επαοιδην.* [8.] *Observers of times.* In Isaiah xlvii. 13. they are called "Monthly Prognosticators," and declared what moons and days were lucky, or the contrary. (See Bishop Clayton on the Hebrew Bible.)

Whilst the people were preparing for the march, Joshua selected two trusty warriors, and sent them forth secretly to Jericho to reconnoitre. On entering the city they proceeded to a house of public entertainment, situate on the town walls, and kept by a woman named Rahab.[1] The king of Jericho, being informed of their arrival, sent immediately to apprehend them, but Rahab, at the risk of her life, concealed them under a quantity of flax stalks, and dismissed the king's officers on a wrong scent; after which she let down the spies by a cord from a window. From this woman they learnt the state of panic produced among the inhabitants by the recent victories of the Hebrews; and expressing her own confidence, that God was with them, and that they would prevail, she proposed and obtained from them a compact for the saving of herself and family.

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[1] She is called in the scriptures a *harlot;* not that she was therefore necessarily a person of profligate character, but because the morals of female keepers of houses of public resort were so commonly loose, that the term *harlot* became identical with that of *innkeeper.* In the instance of Rahab, whatever may have been her former conduct, she now "obtained a good report through faith;" (Heb. xi. 31, 39,) and she is honoured by being enumerated among the female ancestors of our Lord. (Matt. i. 5.)

On receiving this intelligence, Joshua advanced nearer to the Jordan, that the people might be in readiness for the passage of the river. The order of march adopted was of a simple but striking character. Joshua merely caused the Levites to bear the ark at a distance of 2000 cubits (about three-quarters of a mile) in advance of the main body, who were directed to move, turn, or halt, as they saw the ark move.

After three days more the Levites were directed to proceed with the ark to the waters of the Jordan, which had now, being harvest-time, overflowed its banks; (Josh. iii. 15, and iv. 18) and Joshua, who was already endued with the power of the Holy Ghost, gave the people to understand, that the Lord was about to show, by a further testimony, that he was with him in like manner as he had been with Moses. The people, in this instance, advanced with divine confidence; and no sooner had the feet of the priests, who bore the ark, touched the margin of the river, than the waters instantly separated, those which came down from above accumulating and rising to a heap at some distance from the camp, and the tributary streams drying up. To commemorate this wonderful event twelve stones were taken from the bed of the river, and set up in the place where the army halted after it had effected the passage; and twelve huge ones were likewise taken from the land, and deposited in the river. There they probably continue to this day; as the river, by resuming its course, would both overwhelm and preserve them.[1]

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[1] Some are disposed to attribute the dividing of the Red Sea, in the time of Moses, to the accidental occurrence of a natural phenomenon, in the prevalence of a strong wind, mentioned in the scriptures. But there is no such phenomenon mentioned in the present instance; nor when Elisha, at a subsequent period, divided the same river.

The entire proceedings of the Hebrews on this occasion were calculated to confound human notions of military policy. For now that they were before the walls of Jericho, the Lord directed the males to be circumcised (which rite had been neglected during their sojourn in the wilderness,) by which circumstance the army was exposed to that very danger from the enemy, which Simeon and Levi took advantage of, when they assaulted the Shechemites. At this time also they observed the feast of the passover: the day of the passage of the Jordan being the very same on which they were ordered to draw out the lamb. Every thing indeed wore the appearance of a people in perfect security, engaged in celebrating pacific and religious rites, instead of being in the presence of a dangerous enemy who was jealously observing their proceedings from the walls.

The mode of conducting the siege was still more extraordinary. By divine direction, Joshua for seven days successively sent forth a solemn procession, consisting of the warriors, with the ark borne in the midst of them, and preceded by seven priests. They marched round the city each day, the priests blowing trumpets made of rams' horns, but the fighting men preserving a strict silence. On the seventh day, instead of compassing the city once only, the procession passed round it seven times; and on the completion of the seventh circuit, the whole army set up a shout which rent the air, the walls of the city fell down flat, and Jericho was taken without a blow and set on fire. Joshua commanded every thing to be destroyed, with the exception of Rahab and her family.

But an unexpected reverse ensued. Joshua having next despatched a select body of troops against the city of Ai, they were repulsed and fled with a loss of six-and-thirty killed. Trifling as was this discomfiture in itself, the people nevertheless, with their usual proneness to despond, immediately yielded to terror. Even Joshua began to wish that the Jordan were once more between his army and the enemy; but he was rebuked, and informed that the cause of the reverse was a transgression of God's command by one of the people. To discover the offender, the lot was resorted to, and Achan of the tribe of Judah, being pointed out by it, acknowledged that he had secreted in his tent a portion of the spoil ordered to be destroyed. He was consequently stoned, and a tumulus raised over his grave as a memorial and warning.

Joshua then, at the direction of the Lord, planted an ambuscade of 5000 men in the rear of Ai; and attacking it in front with his main force, made a feint of retreating as soon as the inhabitants came out against him. The men of Ai being thus allured to a distance from the city, the ambush entered and set fire to it; and the enemy, perceiving themselves cut off thereby from retreat and placed between two armies, were filled with consternation, and became a prey to the sword, without the loss of a man on the part of Israel.

The neighbouring kings of Canaan now entered into a confederacy against their victorious aggressors; with the exception of the Hivites who dwelt at Gibeon and the adjacent towns, who, seemingly aware that the Hebrews were not permitted to make any covenant with them, nevertheless obtained one by stratagem. They sent an embassy to Joshua, which pretended to be from a distant country; to sustain which imposture they were provided with mouldy provision, and clad in patched garments and shoes, which they declared was owing to the length of the journey they had undertaken. Joshua omitted in this instance to ask counsel of the Lord; the consequence of which was, that he and the elders were deceived, and entered into a treaty of peace with them. The discovery of the cheat well nigh produced a mutiny among the people; but the solemn oath of Joshua and the council was pledged for the protection of the Gibeonites, and therefore the treaty was religiously observed: a rare circumstance in an age when political perfidy every where prevailed. They were degraded however to the condition of wood cutters and water carriers for the service of Israel, conformably with their own proposal to become *servants* to them.

The surrounding chiefs were greatly incensed at the defection of the Gibeonites; and to deter others from following their ruinous example, five princes united their forces and besieged them. The Gibeonites sent to the Hebrew camp, to implore assistance; and Joshua, encouraged by the Lord, fell suddenly upon the besiegers, and put them to the rout. The Almighty at the same time visited them with a tempest of such terrific character, that more perished by the enormous hailstones, than by the sword of the Israelites. During the pursuit a still more remarkable token of the divine interposition was vouchsafed: at the word of Joshua the sun and moon, which happened to be both above the horizon together, were stayed in their position, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies.

A few of the Canaanites found refuge for a time in the fortified cities. The five princes who commanded them fled together, at the commencement of the battle, and concealed themselves in a cave at Makkedah, where they were discovered, and afterwards brought before Joshua at Gilgal. He first caused all the captains of the host to put their feet upon the necks of these kings, assuring them that if they would only be courageous in the Lord, they should in like manner overcome all their enemies; after which the kings were slain, and their bodies thrown into the cave in which they had taken refuge; a heap of stones, piled against the entrance, continuing for many generations after to point out their sepulchre, and to remind Israel of the power and faithfulness of their God.[1]

Joshua next besieged and took in succession the cities Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, and Debir; and Horam, the prince of Gezer, coming to the assistance of Lachish, was likewise overthrown and his forces entirely destroyed. The whole indeed of the south country between Kadesh and Gibeon was now subdued, with the exception of Jebus (or Jerusalem) and some few other fortresses.

The northern kings however, who, through some judicial infatuation, had stood aloof, and suffered the cities and forces of the south to be destroyed, next formed another powerful confederacy under Jabin, king of Hazor, and drew together to the waters of Merom an immense multitude, with numerous horses and chariots. But Joshua fell upon them unexpectedly, and a complete rout ensued.

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[1] Joshua was a striking type of Christ, in his actions as well as in name, (*Joshua* and *Jesus* being the same,) and set forth the manner in which the Lord will bruise Satan under the feet of his people, and give them the necks of their enemies, however numerous and potent, at that time when the church shall emerge from her wilderness condition, and terminate her militant dispensation by a signal career of victory. (See Rev. xix.)

After these successes, Joshua directed his forces against the Anakim, a giant race who infested the hill country, whom he either destroyed or rendered tributary, with the exception of such as might escape out of Palestine.[1] The country might now indeed be said to be subdued, Joshua having in the short space of seven years, overthrown thirty-one kings, in addition to those previously subdued by Moses.

[A.M. 2560.]—As the people now enjoyed rest from their enemies, Joshua was left at liberty, previous to his decease, to carry into execution the various instructions he had received from God respecting their final establishment in the land. The conquered territory was partitioned out by lot, in those portions usually represented in maps of Palestine. Shiloh in the portion of Ephraim, which was the tribe of Joshua, became the head-quarters of Israel. Here the tabernacle was pitched, the host mustered, and the principal religious and political concerns were transacted.[1]

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[1] The Scriptures plainly speak of a race of giants, whom they call *Nephilim* and *Rephaim;* and all writers of profane history who refer to antiquity testify of the same, though with different degrees of fable and exaggeration. Plutarch perhaps gives correct dimensions when he relates that Sertorius opened the grave of Antæus in Africa, and discovered a skeleton of six cubits in length. The Greeks probably derived their tradition of the war of the giants against Jupiter, and of their heaping Mount Ossa upon Mount Pelion for the purpose of scaling heaven, from corrupt tradition of the building of the tower of Babel, and the rebellion of mankind in those days against Jehovah. Profane historians generally make them descendants of Saturn, who was Ham; which will account for their being found in Canaan. They were called *Emim* and *Zanzummim* by the Moabites; but by the Hebrews *Anakim*, from Anak, the head of a chief family of them.

In regard also to the escape of some of the Canaanites, Procopius mentions an interesting historical fact, of two pillars of white marble which remained in his time at Tigisis, in Numidia, on which was a Phœnician inscription, stating, "*We are they who fled from the face of Joshua the robber, the son of Naue.*" (Procop. de Vand. lib. ii. See also Bochart's Canaan, lib. i. cap. xxiv. p. 520.)

The last act of Joshua was to have the substance of the law ratified again at Mounts Ebal and Gerizim, as directed by Moses. He first summoned the *whole* people (not their deputies merely) to Shechem, and having given them a solemn charge, he led them forth to the two steeps, which are divided only by a narrow though deep ravine. A more completely national and solemn spectacle can scarcely be conceived. Six of the tribes stood upon Mount Ebal, from whence the curses of the law were denounced, and six stood on Mount Gerizim, from whence the blessings and promises were rehearsed. An altar was erected and sacrifice offered; and the whole people responded to each curse and blessing with a loud *Amen*. The law was finally written upon great stones, which were set up in Mount Ebal, and plaistered over; on the face of which the letters were scratched or written "very plainly," whilst the cement was wet.[1] (Deut. xxvii. 2, 3.)

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[1] Dr. Croxall, in his "Scripture Politics," (p. 85,) thinks that Shiloh was also named Mizpeh; from the circumstance that in Josh. i. 18, we have the history of the Tabernacle being set up in *Shiloh;* that before the death of Phinehas, without any intimation of its removal, it is spoken of as at *Mizpeh;* (Judges xx. 1, and 27,) and that again, without any intimation of removal, we find it at *Shiloh* in the days of Eli. (1 Sam. iv. 3.) The suggestion is strengthened from other considerations. 1. The host is said to be congregated "to the Lord" in Mizpeh; an expression which specially applies to their being before the place appointed by him for worship. (Judges xx. 1. 1 Sam. x. 17.) 2. Samuel judged the people at Mizpeh, (1 Sam. vii. 6, 16,) but the judges of Israel usually resided in their native territory, and Samuel was a Levite of Mount Ephraim. Moreover Samuel, who was the minister of the sanctuary, was most likely to have resided near to it. 3. The name *Mizpeh* or *Mizpah* was one very likely to be given to the place where the tabernacle was pitched, signifying as it does 'the place of *watching*,' where the Lord may be understood as watching over his people, and the people as watching and waiting for him. This suggestion of Dr. Croxall will be found to remove several difficulties in the Scripture narrative. It may here be added, that some signal judgment, the particulars of which are not given, was ultimately inflicted on Shiloh, for the wickedness of its inhabitants. (See Jeremiah vii. 12, 14, and xxvi. 6.) Mizpah was a name frequently given: there was one in Gilead, (Gen. xxxi. 49,) another in Judah, (Josh. xv. 38,) another in Benjamin, (Josh. xviii. 26,) and another in Moab, (1 Sam. xxii. 3.)

[A.M. 2585.] Soon after this, Joshua died, in the 110th year of his age. The period of his rule, which must have lasted about thirty-two years, appears to have been not only glorious, in a military point of view; but distinguished also by the comparative zeal and integrity with which the nation worshipped and obeyed Jehovah. The same state of things continued during the life-time of those princes and elders of the people, who had seen all the wonderful works and providence of God; and in whose ears the last solemn warnings both of Moses and Joshua still vibrated.

[A.M. 2595.]—There is not however a more conclusive evidence of the natural alienation of the heart from God, than the testimony which history affords of the rapid apostacy of succeeding generations, in nations or cities where the power and knowledge of God have been manifest in an eminent degree. Symptoms of this moral declension soon began to betray themselves in Israel. For some years after the death of Joshua they were engaged in warfare with those Canaanites not yet subdued, each tribe endeavouring to clear its own inheritance; but some at length omitted to destroy the altars and other traces of the idolatrous worship of the vanquished; and some, becoming weary of the conflict, were satisfied with subjecting their enemies, and tolerated their superstitions. The district of Sidon in the north, and Philistia in the south, remained altogether unsubdued. The Amorites were still powerful in mount Heres, and a few years after the death of Joshua drove the Danites up into the mountain, and with their iron chariots maintained themselves in the valleys. Jebus, (afterward Jerusalem,) Megiddo, Gezer, and many other towns, scattered throughout Palestine were suffered to capitulate on becoming tributary.[1] (Judges i.) By the natural man, who is prone to reason as if he considered himself more merciful and tolerant than God, this relaxation of their usual severities will probably be approved. The specious argument would perhaps at that time present itself,—'Many of the customs of this people appear harmless; some are even worthy of imitation; and if a few must be condemned, is it not the most benevolent course to endeavour, by dwelling among them, to convert them?' But this ill-judged lenity and apathy was the beginning of serious troubles to Israel, as Moses had forewarned them would be the case: for they thus became "mingled among the heathen, and learned their ways." The next step in the downward progress naturally was to intermarry with them; and familiarly beholding in consequence their idolatrous rites, they next proceeded to join in them. Thus were the descendants of those, who only a few years previously were straining every nerve to abolish idols, now seen bowing to Baal and Ashtaroth, consecrating their children as priests to these deities, and even offering the blood of their children in sacrifice. (Psalm cvi.) Many who proceeded not to these extremes had nevertheless idols in their houses; whilst others maintained Levites, who conformed to a mingled worship of true religion and idolatry.

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[1] Mr. Williamson states that the custom of plaistering columns, or covering them with a coat of stucco, was common to the Egyptians, who often likewise stained the figures sculptured on them. (Manners and Customs of the Anc. Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 300.)

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[1] From Judges i. 8, it would appear that Jerusalem had been taken by Judah, set fire to, and the inhabitants smitten; but it is evident from v. 21, that, though some considerable success was then obtained against them, the conquest could not have been complete. The Jebusites continued to dwell there under some treaty; and from the fact that Jerusalem was never actually possessed till the time of David, it is plain that the Jebusites must still have retained the citadel.

Together with the superstitions of the heathen, they quickly also became polluted with their licentiousness. One instance of depravity forms too important a feature in the history of the Benjamites to be passed over in silence. An atrocious outrage was committed by the inhabitants of Gibeah of Benjamin, upon the concubine of a Levite, who was journeying through that city, and which caused her death. The injured husband, for the purpose of arousing the indignation of Israel, resorted to the revolting expedient of cutting up her violated body into twelve portions, and sending one to each of the tribes of Israel. It produced the desired effect. There was sufficient moral virtue still latent in the nation to determine the tribes to avenge the abomination. They had long ceased to ask counsel of God in their proceedings; but in this instance they had recourse to Phinehas, who was still living; and with the Lord's sanction they sent forth their hosts against Gibeah, to the number of 400,000 fighting men. The Benjamites not only refused to give up the perpetrators of this deed, but threw an army of 26,000 men into Gibeah for the defence of the inhabitants. The Israelites, though encouraged by the Lord to undertake this war, were nevertheless severely punished themselves in the first instance, and suffered a loss of 40,000 men in two different sallies from the town. The next encounter however proved almost entire destruction to the besieged: the city was taken, and only a few hundred men escaped from the slaughter which followed, and fled into the wilderness. The Hebrews then turned their hand against the remaining cities of the Benjamites, setting fire to all that they captured, and destroying the male inhabitants. The tribe of Benjamin would have been exterminated, had not the Lord interposed; and the compassion of Israel was now exercised in fostering the remnant that was spared, providing them wives, and in other respects promoting their welfare. This is the first civil war recorded in their history.

Terrible as was this chastisement, the generality of the nation nevertheless soon relapsed, and the same superstitions and abominations again polluted the land and provoked the anger of the Almighty. A long period indeed ensued, the narrative of which is chequered by the relation of the frequent apostacies of the people, of the tyrants whom God consequently permitted to oppress them, and of the eminent deliverers whom he raised up on their repentance. For God was ever faithful to punish them, when they needed correction; and compassionate to relieve them, when they were humbled under the rod.

The first judge or ruler of any note after Joshua was Othniel of Judah, a nephew of the renowned Caleb. God had delivered the nation into the power of Chushanrishathaim, a king of Mesopotamia, who had reduced them to bondage during eight years. The particulars of Othniel's conquests are not related; but the land afterwards enjoyed rest for the remainder of his life, during which the people were in some measure restrained from idolatry by his influence. But at his death they again fell into transgression, when Eglon the king of Moab was permitted to obtain a mastery over them; and together with the Ammonites and Amalekites oppressed them during eighteen years. But when the Hebrews humbled themselves, God raised up Ehud, a Benjamite, who having killed Eglon, put 10,000 Moabites to the sword.

Their next revolt brought them under the yoke of the Philistines, from whom Shamgar, a Benjamite, was the instrument of rescuing them, after having himself slain 600 of the enemy with an ox goad.[1]

After this they were oppressed for twenty years by Jabin, king of Canaan, who reigned in Hazor.[2] He had 900 chariots of iron, and a captain general of great prowess and renown, named Sisera. The condition to which the Hebrews were reduced by him, (and in the days of Shamgar, with which this period was probably coeval,) may be judged of in some measure from the song of triumph which celebrates their deliverance. The villages were deserted; no Israelite dared to appear in the high ways, but they were compelled to travel by unknown tracks and by-paths; those inhabitants who were permitted to cultivate the land were disarmed, and none could go out even to draw water without danger of violence. A prophetess however was raised up in Israel, named Deborah. She resided in Mount Ephraim, and the people once more gave indication of returning to the Lord, by resorting to her for counsel and instruction. By express direction from God she summoned Barak, a prince of the house of Naphtali, to march toward Mount Tabor with an army of 10,000 men, before whom the forces of Sisera were overthrown, and their leader obliged to abandon the chariot in which he rode, and to flee away on foot. He effected his escape in the first instance to the Kenites, the descendants of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, but was put to death by Jael, the wife of Heber, the master of the tent in which he took refuge, who drove a nail through his temples, as he lay wearied and in a deep sleep on the ground. The Israelites followed up this victory until they had destroyed the king of Canaan himself; after which the land again had a considerable period of rest.

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[1] These are formidable weapons in the present day. Maundrell describes one, which had a shaft eight feet long, with a pike or goad at one end, and a spade for cleaning the plough at the other.

[2] Joshua subdued one Jabin, king of Hazor, (Joshua xi. 1, 10.) and burnt his city. This was probably a descendant of his, who took advantage of the weakness of Israel to rebuild the city, and extend his influence.

After this they again "did evil in the sight of the Lord;" and the national delinquency was immediately visited with another national chastisement, by means of the Midianites. The tyranny which the Hebrews endured from them was so severe, that numbers betook themselves to hiding-places; and at this period many of those dens and caves were constructed, which still remain in the mountains and fastnesses of Palestine. The corn which they had sown was entirely destroyed by the Midianites, who with bands of Amalekites, and other confederates from the east, described as being like grass-hoppers for multitude, left no sustenance either for man or beast. But Israel was once more also in humiliation; when the Lord selected for their deliverance Gideon, of the tribe of Manasseh, who having had his own faith previously confirmed by notable signs, assembled an army of 32,000 men. But God would in this instance have it clearly seen by his people, that the battle is of the Lord and not of man; and having therefore selected from out of this number only 300 men, he dismissed the remainder to their tents. Gideon divided this small band into three companies of one hundred each, and having procured for every man a trumpet, a pitcher, and a lamp, he marched them at night against the enemy, in three different directions, charging them to maintain a strict silence and to cover their lamps with their pitchers. On arriving at the out-posts of the Midianites, who were spread along the valley of Moreh, the whole on a signal broke their pitchers, displayed the lights, sounded the trumpets, and rushed upon the enemy; who fled panic-struck, mistaking and hewing down each other. The Hebrews who had been dismissed to their tents now joined in the pursuit, and the Ephraimites taking possession of the fords, cut off the enemy's retreat, and a great slaughter ensued. Two Midianitish princes, mentioned in the Hebrew Psalms, Oreb and Zeeb, fell into their hands, and were slain, the one at a rock, the other at a wine-press, afterwards called by their names. Gideon, in the mean while, pursued after a detached corps, headed by Zeba and Zalmunna, two other Midianitish princes, which corps he completely exterminated. Thus was this multitude of enemies destroyed, the immense number of 135,000 having perished by the sword. The gold of the earrings alone, which was awarded to Gideon as his share of the spoil, weighed 1700 shekels.[1]

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[1] What belonged to the four Midianitish kings also, fell to the share of Gideon. They were attired in *purple* raiment, (which was therefore an ensign of royalty in those days,) and appear to have been superbly decorated with golden ornaments, collars and chains.

The conduct and victory of Gideon infused into the Hebrews so great a confidence in him, that they now proposed to make him king over Israel, and to render the monarchy hereditary in his family; but he piously declined it, both for himself and children, declaring that the Lord should continue to be their ruler. But though Gideon acted with integrity toward God in the main, and restrained the people by his influence from open idolatry, he nevertheless made an ephod of the spoil taken from the Midianites, and set it up in Ophrah, and all Israel is said to have gone a whoring after it, and it became a snare to Gideon and to his house.[1] No sooner was he deceased than the nation generally relapsed into the worship of Baal, and the family of Gideon was ungratefully treated; a recompense for his error in the matter of the ephod.

Gideon left no less than seventy sons by different wives, and another also, named Abimelech, by a concubine of Shechem. Abimelech, who was a cruel and crafty person, conspired with his citizens, by an appeal to their vanity and political selfishness, to destroy the seventy legitimate sons of Gideon, and to give to him the sovereignty which his father had rejected. They were consequently all murdered, excepting Jotham the youngest, who contrived to make his escape. But God punished this treachery of Abimelech and his citizens by making each party a curse and scourge to the other. The men of Shechem were so oppressed by his tyranny, that at the end of three years they sought to compass his destruction; whilst he, on his part, watched like a leopard over their city, and succeeded by various surprises in destroying the inhabitants, and razing the city to the ground. But proceeding afterwards to deal in like manner with the inhabitants of Thebez, a neighbouring city, a woman hurled part of a millstone on his head from the top of the tower, and killed him on the spot.

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[1] The way the ephod is mentioned in this place; (viz. that it was manufactured of the golden ear-rings, and *set up*, and became an object of ensnaring Israel and seducing them from God,) suggests the idea that it must have been something more than the robe or girdle, or that there was more than one kind of ephod. (See also the mention of it in Judges xvii. 5, and 1 Sam. xxiii. 9.)

Nothing particular is recorded for forty-five years after this, except the names of two judges who ruled during that period, Tola and Jair; and that the people became still more addicted to the worship of idols. Baal, Ashteroth, Chemosh, Chiun, Dagon, Moloch, which were deities of Zidonia, Moab, Ammon and Philistia, were all of them introduced into Israel; some of the Hebrews substituting idols in place of the worship of Jehovah; and others retaining his rites, but superadding the worship of images. For these things the Lord again chastised them, by giving them into the hands of the Ammonites and Philistines.

From the Ammonites they were after a while delivered by Jephthah, who having been expelled from Gilead through a faction raised up by his own brethren, had afterwards become powerful, as chief over a band of free-booters. He was nevertheless influenced by the fear of God, and after his countrymen had recalled him and made him their head, the Spirit of God came upon him and specially endowed him for the appointed work. He speedily subdued the Ammonites; but two circumstances tended greatly to damp the public satisfaction at the victory. The one was an inconsiderate vow, which Jephthah had previously made, to offer as a burnt-offering, in case he returned victorious, the first person which should come forth to welcome him from his own house. This happened to be his only child, a daughter, who advanced to meet him at the head of a train of damsels, dancing and playing on timbrels; and she was consequently devoted to a life of celibacy, (Judges xi. 39.) to the great grief of her father, and exciting the commiseration of all.[1]

The other event was far more tragical in its issue, and was occasioned by the Ephraimites, who took umbrage at not having been summoned by Jephthah to the battle; whence a brief but bloody civil war ensued, which he was unable to quell until he had destroyed 42,000 men of Ephraim. This is the first decided indication mentioned of the jealousy of the Ephraimites, which ultimately will be found to lead to serious consequences. They were the most considerable of the tribes in number; they were descended from the eminent Joseph, whose bones were still preserved among them; the birth-right or preeminence, which was taken from Reuben, was given to them, by virtue of their precedency over Manasseh;[1] Joshua, the most glorious of the Hebrew conquerors, was likewise of their tribe; the engraved transcript of the law was set up on Mount Ebal in their territory; and the tabernacle, being likewise pitched among them, to which all Israel resorted at the great festivals, constituted Shiloh the metropolis of the entire nation. These things tended to make Ephraim proud of their political importance and dignity.

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[1] Much difference of opinion exists with regard to the actual fate of this young person. The conclusion of some, that Jephthah actually offered his daughter as a burnt sacrifice, in the same manner as the heathen did their children to Moloch, is encompassed with great improbabilities. 1st. It was incompatible with the character of a *reformer* (as all these deliverers were,) and a man of piety and faith, (Heb. xi. 32.) to persist in offering to God what was so notoriously an abomination. 2dly. Jephthah could only *devote* his daughter; he could not *sacrifice* her himself, not being a priest; and to suppose that the priests, who were not under the obligation of the vow, would concur in such an act, is again improbable. 3dly. It infers the vow of Jephthah to have been not only "*rash*," (as it is usually called) but *silly* also. For what could he have expected would have come forth from his own doors to *welcome* him (for such is the meaning of the original) but human beings: unless it were a dog, which would equally have been an abomination as a sacrifice. But the Septuagint and Vulgate render it "*who*soever cometh forth from my doors," not *what*soever, which I have therefore adopted in the text. 4th. It loses sight of the fact, that the male children of all Israel were required as *sacrifices* to the Lord, but they were *redeemable*. (Ex. xiii. Numb. xviii.) The fact, I apprehend, was, that she was dedicated to God in the same manner that Samuel and others were; but that in her case a life of celibacy was required, which was destructive to the hope of Jephthah's leaving behind him a posterity in Israel, she being an only child.

[A.M. 2870.] There is considerable obscurity with regard to the order of the events connected with this period. It seems evident, from Judges x. 7. that the long Philistine oppression began contemporaneously with the Ammonitish; in which case also Ibzan, Elon and Abdon, three other judges, whose names only are mentioned in scripture, must have been contemporary (in part at least,) with Jephthah, who only survived the war with the Ephraimites about six years. In the first year (as many have inferred,) of this period, two remarkable persons were born, Samuel and Samson, the last of the judges of Israel. To avoid confusion however in the history, Samson must be first separately noticed and dismissed.

The birth of Samson was remarkable from the circumstance that his mother was previously barren, and that he was the child of promise made by an angel to his parents, who were Danites of Zorah. By divine direction he was brought up strictly as a Nazarite, or one dedicated to God; and at an early period he gave indication that the power of God was with him.

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[1] See 1 Chron. v. 1, 2, and the note p. 19.

His first adventure was the ripping in twain a young lion, which roared against him in the way, and which, by a sudden impulse of the Spirit he darted on and tore, with as much ease as if it had been a kid. This happened on his way to Timnath, a city of the Philistines, whither he was journeying to pay his addresses to a young woman, with whose beauty he was captivated. His parents remonstrated against the match; but Samson's natural temper was wayward and impetuous; and an observation of the sacred penman relative to this circumstance (Judges xiv. 4,) shews that it was so overruled in this matter and ordered of God, that whilst his conduct proved a means of vexation, and therefore of righteous correction, to himself, it afforded him various just occasions of punishing the Philistines, whom the Lord raised him up to chastise.

Samson again went to Timnah to marry the woman; and in the course of the nuptial festivities proposed a riddle for solution to the thirty Philistine youths appointed as honorary attendants; with the condition that, if they guessed it within the week of the feast, he would give to each of them a sheet and a change of raiment; and that if they failed they should each give one to him. At the expiration of the time they were unable to resolve it; but his wife, intimidated by their menaces, (who threatened else to destroy both her and her father's family,) extorted it from him and betrayed it. Samson was vexed, but dissembling his anger, he went forth privily to Ashkelon, slew thirty Philistines and with the spoil discharged his engagement. The damsel was nevertheless perfidiously given to another; incensed at which Samson withdrew, and having entrapped a large number of foxes, he tied them tail to tail, and affixing a lighted firebrand to each pair, drove them into the cornfields and vineyards of the enemy. On learning who was the author of this injury, and his motive for inflicting it, the Philistines went up and destroyed the damsel, together with her father and his family; thus bringing upon them that punishment for their treachery, through fear of which they had been guilty of it.

The wrath of Samson was not yet appeased: he suddenly fell upon a body of the Philistines, and having made great havoc among them, retreated to the top of the rock Etam in the territory of Judah. The Philistines demanded him of the men of Judah; and Samson suffered them to deliver him bound to the enemy; but whilst they shouted with exultation on beholding him their captive, the Spirit of God came mightily upon him; in an instant he snapped asunder his bonds, and seizing the jaw-bone of an ass, which happened to be at hand, he attacked his enemies with irresistible impetuosity, and slew a thousand of them therewith.

This action, like all the rest of those performed by Samson, was effected by his own individual prowess, without the aid of any army or band of followers; and from this time he appears to have been looked up to as a deliverer, and constituted a judge in Israel.

[A.M. 2890.]—The sensual passions of Samson appear throughout to have been the cause of his difficulties and dangers, at the same time that they gave occasion to the display of his heroism and supernatural strength. We next find him watched into the house of a harlot at Gaza of the Philistines, the inhabitants of which city, conceiving that they had him secure within their walls, waited quietly till the morning. But he arose at midnight, and wrenched away in one mass the strong gates of the city, with the jambs or sideposts, barred and locked together as they were, and placing his shoulders under the ponderous burden, he carried them away to the top of a hill before Hebron.

He next placed his affections on a wily and heartless courtezan among the Philistines, named Delilah. She, at the instance of her countrymen, who promised her a large reward if she could discover the secret of Samson's strength and deliver him alive, was constantly pressing him to disclose wherein it consisted. For some time he amused and deceived her; but at length, though he had repeated evidence of her perfidy, he was so much infatuated as to reveal to her the truth: viz., that the secret of his strength was in his hair; but that if his head were shorn he would become as another man. His artful mistress soon found opportunity to inveigle him to sleep with his head upon her lap, whilst a man who was in readiness came in and cut off his locks. Samson awoke from his sleep at the rush in of the Philistines, who were in ambush; but found, alas! not only that his hair was gone, but that the Spirit of the Lord was likewise departed, and he became weak before his enemies.

The Philistines spared his life only that, with a barbarity more cruel than death, they might reserve him for mockery and sport. They put out his eyes, and having bound him with fetters, compelled him to exercise his once formidable strength in grinding corn in the common prison of Gaza. But the moment of triumph and exultation proved likewise one of signal retribution. A day of sacrifice to Dagon, their god, was appointed for this inglorious achievement.[1] The edifice, in which the festival was celebrated, was so constructed, that though it was of vast dimensions, having galleries upon the roof, looking into the inner court or hall, which were capable of containing 3000 persons, yet was its main support dependent upon two principal pillars, placed near to each other. Into the space below were gathered the nobles of Philistia; whilst the roof or galleries were filled with spectators, looking on from above at the sport afforded by Samson, who was led about among the multitude beneath, to be gazed at and insulted. The hair of Samson had begun to grow during his confinement, and he experienced in himself symptoms of returning strength; he now therefore entreated the youth, who led him about, to suffer him to rest awhile against the two main pillars of the edifice. The youth unwittingly complied; when Samson, having offered a brief but effectual prayer to the God of Israel, spread forth his arms so as to reach the two pillars with his hands, and bowing himself with all his might, and exclaiming, "*Let me die with the Philistines,*" the supports yielded to his prodigious strength, and the building fell, burying in one common ruin both Samson himself and the whole assembled glory of Philistia.

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[1] Dagon, according to Sanchoniatho, the Phœnician historian, signified *bread-corn*, (the same as Σιτων in Greek,) of which he was the discoverer, and also the inventor of the plough; wherefore the Greeks worshipped him under the name of *Zeus Arotrius*. Sanchoniatho makes him to be a son of Ouranus or Noah, and if so, from his settling in Phœnicia he was evidently Ham. Though I incline to think that Sanchoniatho here confounds him with Canaan, the son of Ham, whom he more probably was; for he attributes to Ouranus four sons—Ilus or Cronus, Betytus, Dagon and Atlas. But Cronus was undoubtedly Ham, and as Shem and Japhet did not settle in Phœnicia, there is no mode of accounting for Dagon but by concluding him to have been the grandson, instead of the son of Noah. (See the remarks on Ham and Canaan, pages 8, 9, and also Sanchoniatho on the Generations in Eusebius.)

There is a melancholy grandeur in the fate of Samson that excites both our pity and our admiration; but he is nevertheless the least amiable and engaging, and the one we least sympathize with, of all those heroes of Israel who obtained a good report through faith. (Heb. xi. 32.) His history however serves to illustrate the superior value of a small measure only of the inwardly sanctifying power of God's Spirit, compared with that miraculous energy which was exerted physically in Samson.

[A.M. 2870.] The birth of Samuel, like that of his cotemporary, was likewise the consequence of a divine promise and interposition. His father was a Levite named Elkanah, and his mother the pious and inspired Hannah, who is the first that speaks of the Seed promised to Abraham, under the title of *king* and *Messiah*, i. e. "the *anointed.*" Like Samson, also, he was dedicated as a Nazarite from his birth; and when he was only a year old, was taken up by his mother and confided to the care of Eli, who was then high priest.

The prevailing ungodliness of this period was greatly aggravated by the scandalous behaviour of the priests in their sacred office. Eli, the aged pontiff, was himself a pious, but weak man; and betrayed that failing too frequent among religious persons,—the want of exercising proper discipline and authority over his children. The consequence was, that his sons had become so profligate in morals, and withal so indecorous in the discharge of their ministerial office, that the public were disgusted, and neglected the worship of the tabernacle.

[A.M. 2882—2910.] A prophet of God had already warned Eli of the wrath he was provoking, and declared to him, (as an earnest that the punishment he was about to receive was of God,) that his two sons, Hophni and Phinehas, should both die in one day. The same awful denunciations were now reiterated by Samuel, who at the early age of twelve years (as is supposed) was established by evident tokens, and reverenced throughout Israel, as a prophet of the Lord. The threatenings were speedily fulfilled. The Hebrews appear to have gained courage at length, from the exploits of Samson, to meet the Philistines once more in the open field; but a conflict disastrous for Israel ensued. The encounter took place near Mizpeh, and the Hebrews were defeated in the first engagement with the loss of 4000 men. The captains of the Hebrew army, conceiving that this reverse would not have happened had the ark of God been with them, sent to Shiloh for it; and Eli without any warrant from the Lord, rashly, though tremblingly, despatched it.[1] It was borne into the camp, attended by the sons of Eli; and the Philistines, who learned the occasion of the tremendous shouts and cheering of the Hebrews as they welcomed it, were now filled with dismay. Nevertheless, God inclined not to his people at this time; and when therefore on the following day the battle was renewed, Israel was defeated with the loss of 30,000 in slain, among whom were the two sons of Eli; and the ark of God was captured by the enemy.

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[1] It is evident from this narrative that the army must have been near to Shiloh; and as they are described in the first instance as near Mizpeh, it again shews it to be identical with Shiloh.

The news of this defeat was speedily carried by a fugitive to Shiloh, where Eli was seated in the gate,[1] anxiously awaiting the result of the ark leaving the tabernacle; and on receiving the intelligence of its capture and the death of his sons, he fell backward from his seat and broke his neck. Thus he died in the 98th year of his age; having acted as judge in Israel during forty years.

The Philistines found the possession of the ark a source of trouble, rather than of advantage. As often as they attempted to set it up in their temple at Ashdod, the idol Dagon was found prostrate and mutilated before it in the morning. The whole land was visited with a great plague of mice; and the inhabitants of those cities, to which the ark was carried, were smitten with a flux of an aggravated and fatal character. Having been passed about from town to town, it came at length to Ekron; the inhabitants of which, alarmed at the presence of the mysterious and awful visitor, placed it in a cart, and abandoned it to the guidance of two milch kine, unaccustomed to the yoke, and separated from their calves; who nevertheless, by an overruling and manifestly stronger power, took the opposite road to their young, yet lowing after them as they went, and stopped at last near Bethshemesh. The inhabitants of this city at first rejoiced at its arrival; but a carnal curiosity led them to flock in multitudes to gaze at the ark, and to examine its interior; on which they were visited with a pestilence which destroyed many. And awed, in their turn, at the presence of so holy and so jealous a God, they now sent messengers to Kirjath-jearim, the men of which came down with Levites, and removed the ark to their city, in which it remained for many years.[1]

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[1] The *gate* so frequently mentioned in scripture, was an open space within the barrier or chief entrance of the city, and was the market-place or forum, where provisions were sold and the courts were held.

[A.M. 2931.] Twenty years elapsed under Samuel, and notwithstanding his popularity and influence, the same transgressions were still persisted in. At length, however, he prevailed on the nation to assemble together at Mizpeh, (the scene of their defeat under Eli,) where they now observed a solemn fast, confessing their sins, and putting away their idols. The Philistines had intelligence of this assembly, and instantly despatched a large body of troops against them; but Jehovah discomfited them by a tremendous tempest of thunder and lightning; and the Hebrews falling upon them before they had recovered from the panic, a complete overthrow ensued.

The nation being thus delivered, the cities retaken of which it had been despoiled, and a peace concluded with the Amorites, Samuel next applied himself to the regulation of internal matters. He fixed his general residence at Ramah; but he established an annual circuit or visitation to Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh, at each of which places he held a sessions, for the purpose of dispensing judgment more conveniently. The church of God once more enjoyed a period of repose; religion flourished; and peace and good order were maintained.

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[1] The name Kirjath-jearim signifies *Fields of the wood,* and explains the allusion in Psalm cxxxii. 6.

Another era of the Hebrew history now commences; previous to entering upon which it may be here remarked, that we have seen nothing in the period just reviewed, that can be considered a plenary fulfilment of the promises concerning the possession of the land, though this period includes within it the settlement in Canaan. A considerable portion of it was undoubtedly occupied under Joshua; and so far his possession of it may be considered as the pledge and earnest of a more complete one. But even under him strong places were left unsubdued in the midst of their inheritance; and if we consider the original grant,—from the river of Egypt[1] to Lebanon, and from the Euphrates to the sea,—the larger portion of it was still under the power of the Gentiles.

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[1] A river on the south frontier of Philistia has been supposed by many to be the river of Egypt, chiefly on account of this limited occupation of the territory, and is laid down in some maps as "Sihor the river of Egypt." Other geographers call the Nile "Sihor," and the "river of Egypt." (See the maps e.g. in Bishop Mant's Bible.) Sihor is only twice mentioned in the scriptures, (Joshua xiii. 3, and Jer. ii. 18.) and in both places it seems too closely identified with Egypt itself to be separated by a distance of upwards of 100 miles, which would be the case were the former river intended. Besides, the Geshurites, mentioned Judges xiii. 2, lay north of it, which is fatal to the hypothesis that the Canaanitish river can be intended as the boundary of the grant to the patriarchs.

CHAPTER V.

KINGS OF THE HEBREWS.

[A.M. 2932.]—The political functions exercised by those who were called JUDGES of Israel, during the period last narrated, were principally the military and magisterial. Some were raised up merely to fight the battles of the nation, and to deliver them from foreign tyranny; others have no warlike deeds recorded of them, and appear only to have been arbitrators of the differences between individuals, and perhaps to have expounded and enforced the observance of the civil law. At some periods the two classes of functions were so distinct, as to have been exercised by two different individuals; as in the case of Deborah and Barak, and again of Eli and Samson, all of whom are said to have judged Israel, though the two former and the two latter were contemporaneous with each other. The extent of the influence of the judges depended upon circumstances. In some instances their authority was not respected beyond the limits of their own tribe; scarcely indeed beyond the borders of the city in which they resided;

and even Gideon and Jephthah were bearded by the Ephraimites. But in proportion as the ability of the judge, and the advantages of his rule, were recognized, other tribes appear to have voluntarily submitted to his authority; and the more prosperous and influential of them thus acquired, toward the decline of their life, the homage of the entire nation, and were virtually *kings*. This is evident from the language used by Abimelech and Jotham, sons of Gideon, to the Shechemites; the former pointing out to them the advantage of having only one to "*reign*" over them instead of seventy; and the other reproaching them for making Abimelech "*king*."[1]

But though the Judges were in certain instances virtually kings, the condition of Israel under them was very different from that of a monarchy. We do not find that the most powerful among them exercised the functions of legislators. At the worst periods of this era every man did what was right in his own eyes; in more favourable times they were coerced by the local authorities within their own tribe, or by the individual whose influence procured for him a jurisdiction over all the tribes; but he never attempted to add to or modify the laws. Unlike also to the princes of the adjacent tribes and nations, the Hebrew judges exercised no arbitrary power over the persons or property of the people, who were, strictly speaking, free. Again, the judge had no standing army; neither was there any regalia or state attached to the office, beyond what they were enabled to maintain out of their own private resources: the people were not taxed for the support of their dignity, and a larger portion of the spoil taken in battle, together with spontaneous offerings and presents, appear to have been all the pecuniary advantages they derived. Moreover, the office was not hereditary, but terminated with the life of the individual who held it; when sometimes an interregnum occurred, in which there was no judge in Israel.

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[1] Moses is styled "*king* in Jeshurun," (Deut. xxxiii. 5,) and often likewise it is said of certain events, that they took place when there was "no *king* (meaning no *judge*) in Israel." See Judges xvii. 6, xviii. 1, xix. 1, and xxi. 25.

The constitution, therefore, of the state was still a theocracy; Jehovah being really their king, judge, and lawgiver; and the ruler from among themselves nothing more than his minister and internuncio; declaring what the Lord had previously revealed concerning matters in hand, and consulting him for guidance whensoever the exigency required it.

The people however had come at length to dislike this state of manifest dependence upon God; and that fickleness, which constantly sought after novelties in religious matters, was as little disposed to be satisfied with a monotonous political condition. The present circumstances of the nation were certainly not encouraging to those who were destitute of faith in Jehovah,—always a fearfully large proportion. They were surrounded by enemies, who were ready at any time to take advantage of a favourable opportunity to fall upon them. The Ammonite Syrians, under their king Nahash, had already assumed a menacing attitude. And the Philistines, though they had recently been defeated by Samuel, were nevertheless rapidly recovering from the blow, and beginning again to overawe the Hebrews. When, therefore, the more unstable portion of the nation looked around, and perceived how they were threatened, together with their general unreadiness for war,—there being no permanent leader among themselves, like the sovereigns of the nations round about, surrounded by experienced soldiers, and prepared at any time to lead them to battle,—they became uneasy; nor did the recollection of former deliverances inspire them with confidence in God.

Another circumstance had created considerable dissatisfaction in the nation. Samuel, on account of his increasing age, (now verging on seventy years) had associated with him in the office of magistrate his two sons; but they proved accessible to bribery. The evil was undoubtedly a serious one; but it is the fault of mankind in general to overlook the natural depravity of human nature, which, under any form of government, is still the same, and to suppose that every public grievance arises from the particular constitution under which they live. The grievance was apparently remedied by Samuel, by the removal of his sons from office; (for when he soon afterwards challenged the people to lay anything to his charge, they were silent on this head;) but they nevertheless made this grievance a pretext for demanding of Samuel to set a king over them. Samuel took umbrage at the demand, but carried the matter before the Lord; when he was reminded, that the affront was not so much offered to him as to Jehovah himself, whose sovereignty it was that they were really tired of. He is instructed also to warn the people both of the wickedness and folly of their request, and of the probable domestic tyranny to which they would subject themselves;[1] but as they would not hearken

[1] There is a strikingly apposite sentiment in a heathen writer on

to reason, but persisted, their prayer was conceded, though in anger.

SAUL.—The person selected of God to be king, was Saul, the son of Kish, of a noble family in Benjamin. God first informed Samuel of the choice, and then, to assure him of the identical person, declared that he would bring him to Samuel to Ramah on a certain day, to consult him on a particular subject. On the day appointed Saul appeared, and made the inquiry exactly as predicted; upon which Samuel entertained him, and afterwards, to the great astonishment of Saul, declared to him the purpose of God, and anointed him king over Israel. Returning to his home at Gibeah, Saul was on the way endued by the Spirit with the gifts and capacity suited for his high office, and became "another man;" and falling in afterwards with a company of prophets, who, like the bards of old, were furnished with musical instruments (the psaltery, tabret, pipe and harp,) and prophesying as they went, the afflatus came likewise upon Saul, and he prophesied with them. So that it became a proverb in Israel, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" These things, and other incidents which occurred to him on his return, were previously predicted by Samuel, for the satisfaction also of Saul.

Shortly after these events Samuel convened a general assembly of the nation to Mizpeh, and there, without declaring what had transpired with respect to Saul, he proceeded more publicly to elect a king

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this point,—"He that desires to be governed by law, desires that God should be his sovereign. He that desires to be governed by a king, that is by a man, desires to be subject to a wild beast, as it were, since man is influenced by his passions rather than by his reason." (Aristotle : Polit.)

by lot. The manner of proceeding was by first declaring the tribe chosen, next the clan or family of that tribe, and next the individual of the family; by which process Saul was again designated. This remarkable coincidence, between the sortilege and the prediction, was greatly calculated to confirm both Saul and Samuel in the conviction that the hand of God was in the matter; and strikingly illustrates, for the benefit of all mankind, how impossible it is for any event to happen, however apparently trivial or accidental, without the prescience and direction of God.[1]

Saul exhibited a remarkable bashfulness on this occasion. On his return from Samuel in the first instance, he had suppressed, in the narrative of his adventures to his family, all that related to his being anointed king; and now when the election was publicly declared, he concealed himself, and was at length dragged forth from his hiding place with a seeming reluctance for the elevation. The multitude on beholding him was delighted with his personal beauty and commanding stature, (a matter regarded by the ancients as of great importance in respect to their kings;[2]) and the air was rent with shouts of *God save the king.* Thus the Lord gave to Israel a king after their *own heart.*

Samuel having explained to the people what was to be the form and constitution of the monarchy, and inscribed it in a book,[3] dismissed the people to their homes; and Saul returned to Gibeah enriched with various offerings from the people, and accompanied by a body guard of youthful volunteers, whose hearts God inclined toward him. After this however he appears to have retired to his ordinary mode of life, and not to have assumed at first the state or authority of king.

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[1] So the proverb,—"The lot is cast into the lap, (to be shaken up) but the entire disposal thereof is of the Lord." Prov. xvi. 33.

[2] Herodotus, iii. 20, vii. 187. Arist. Polit. iv. 4.

[3] It is said to have been laid up before the Lord; but the particulars of it are nowhere explained. It probably prescribed the manner of the succession to the throne, and defined the royal prerogative.

An opportunity however presently occurred for calling forth his energies. The Ammonites laid siege at length to Jabesh-Gilead, and were on the point of capturing the city, when the inhabitants found means to apprise Saul, who summoned all Israel to his standard. The people, moved by the fear of God, assembled to the number of 330,000; and falling next day upon the Ammonites, slaughtered them from morning till noon, and scattered the remainder. There were some perverse persons, who, on the election of Saul to be king, openly expressed sentiments of contempt for him, and brought him no offerings; and now that he had given evidence of his military prowess, the people proposed to bring forth the recusants, and to put them to death. But Saul interceded and magnanimously forgave them;—an act that ought to be recorded, since it is almost the only one in his history that redounds to his credit.

After this victory over the Ammonites, Samuel, with great disinterestedness, considering his own diminished power, seized the moment of Saul's popularity to propose that he should now be formally inaugurated. For this purpose another assembly was convened at Gilgal, where the nation celebrated a grand thanksgiving to the Lord for their victory, and a second time solemnly accepted Saul. Before, however, Samuel dismissed the assembly, he obtained from them an explicit testimony to his own invariable uprightness and integrity; and next gave them a testimony that they had grievously offended in rejecting God as their king. It was now wheat-harvest, a season of the year when rain was unusual; but Samuel notified that at his prayer God would send thunder and rain as a token of his displeasure. The tempest followed, and the solemnities of the day terminated with fear and humiliation, and deprecating the anger of God. Samuel on this finally assured the people, that if they would follow the commandments of the Lord, he would still continue to bless them; but that if they persisted in doing wickedly, then both they and their king should be consumed. The whole proceeding, in regard to this change of government, strikingly contradicts the infidel maxim, that the voice of the people is the voice of God!

[A.M. 2934.] The nation was next to be *practically* shown, that under whatsoever form of government they lived, to God they must look for safety and prosperity. Saul had a son already arrived at man's estate, named Jonathan, a youth of singular enterprise and bravery, and possessing great openness of heart, disinterestedness and faith. Two years after these events, when Saul had dismissed the army, and retained only 3000 men, Jonathan, with only three hundred, rashly attacked Geba of the Philistines, and put the garrison to the sword, without being at all prepared to follow up the blow. The enraged Philistines immediately invaded the land, with an army of 30,000 chariots, 6,000 cavalry, and infantry innumerable;[1] and though Saul again summoned Israel to his standard, he on this occasion obtained no reinforcement. For the people, struck with fear, abandoned their homes, and sought refuge either in the caves or fastnesses, or in the territories of the tribes on the east of Jordan; whilst some actually deserted to the enemy,—earning the inglorious distinction of being the first of Israel who are recorded to have done so. (1 Sam. xiv. 21.)

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[1] It is stated in the sacred Records, respecting the former victory

The Philistines encamped in Michmash, eastward of Bethaven, from whence they laid waste the country in every direction and without opposition. They had previously disarmed the Hebrews, and their policy prevented them from having a smith among them; so that even among the troops which followed Saul there was neither spear nor sword, excepting two which belonged to himself and Jonathan: his men being probably armed with ox-goads, and such other rude weapons as they could procure. In the mean while the few warriors he had were daily reduced by desertion, till they dwindled down to the small number of 600, who were also greatly disheartened.

Sensible of his danger, Saul sent for Samuel to propitiate God by sacrifice and offering; but the latter not arriving at the time appointed, Saul became impatient and offered sacrifice himself. Samuel on his arrival sharply rebuked him for this offence; who not only had, in thus doing, invaded the office of the priest, but apparently contravened some ex-

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over the Philistines, "that they were subdued, and came no more into the coast of Israel; and that the hand of the Lord was against them all the days of Samuel." (1 Sam. vii. 13.) This must be understood as relating to all the days that Samuel was supreme governor or judge over Israel, and not of all the days of his life.

press law of the kingdom recently inscribed in the book. (1 Sam. xiii. 13, 14.) He therefore informs him, that God would not establish the kingdom in his family, but had chosen another king, who should be a man after his *own* heart. God nevertheless determines to deliver Israel out of this extremity, but by the instrumentality of another.

Saul was cooped up with his few men in Gibeah, a place strongly fortified by nature; whilst the enemy occupied a formidable position immediately opposite. A guard of observation, or advanced post, was intrenched upon the top of a steep rock, the area of which on the summit was only about half an acre; and this post formed as it were the key to their whole position. Jonathan, with the same daring that characterized his conduct on the former occasion, resolved to steal away privily with his armour-bearer, and to attack this formidable post. In this instance, however, he challenged divine aid and protection in the following manner. He concerted with his armour-bearer, that they should shew themselves to the garrison of this rock, and that if the men bade them remain where they were, until they came down to them, they would conclude that they were not to assail them; but that if the garrison (which consisted only of twenty men) should invite them to come up, they would interpret it as a token from the Lord, and confidently proceed.

The garrison no sooner perceived them, than, unaccustomed to the sight of Hebrews venturing from their hiding-places, they jeeringly called to them to ascend the rock, with the promise that they would shew them something. Jonathan hailed the invitation, and scrambled with difficulty up the precipice upon his hands and feet, followed by his attendant. Amazed at the unexpected boldness of the act, the enemy had not the courage to face Jonathan, but fell before his onset, and that of his armour-bearer, till the whole were destroyed.

The Philistines quickly discovered that their strong hold was captured, and a panic, upon the intelligence, spread through their ranks. They knew not the number of their assailants, nor from what quarter to expect the attack. The absence of visible foes conjured up imaginary ones. Their trembling of heart was aggravated by a trembling of the earth from the Lord; and their consternation increased, till in their confusion and terror they began to mistake friends for enemies, and to beat and tread down one another. The tumult having been heard by the watchmen of Saul, he sallied forth with his followers and fell upon them. The Hebrews also, who had deserted to them, now turned and joined the troops of Saul; and, as the enemy fled, the people who were concealed in the caves and fastnesses rose up behind them, and following with unwearied vigour, completed the rout and overthrow of the entire host.

This great victory had nevertheless well nigh been damped by a tragical event to Jonathan. His father, in the beginning of the pursuit, had forbidden the people to eat or drink anything till evening, and imprecated a curse upon any one who should disobey. Jonathan being ignorant of his father's command, had refreshed himself with some wild honey; and the people, equally wearied, then partook of the spoil, but without pouring out the blood of the animals they slew. The next day, when Saul asked counsel of God, if he should pursue the Philistines further, no answer was vouchsafed; and concluding that a trespass had been committed, the lot was had recourse to, and fell upon Jonathan, who immediately confessed what he had done. Saul was disposed to vindicate the sanctity of his own oath by putting Jonathan to death; but the people, accounting him to be the means of their deliverance, interposed, and would not suffer him to perish.

Saul after this success turned his arms against other enemies of Israel, and attacked the Moabites, the Edomites, the Syrians of Zobah, (now becoming powerful,) and the Amalekites; but with no decisive result, except in the case of the Amalekites, whom he destroyed, and took Agag their king prisoner.[1] Nevertheless Saul greatly provoked in this latter exploit the displeasure of the Almighty. For God had long since enjoined Israel to blot out the name of Amalek on the first opportunity, in consequence of the despiteful treatment experienced from that people on their first coming out of Egypt;[2] and the war was now undertaken at the express direction of Jehovah, who enjoined Saul to make an utter destruction of their men and cattle. But Saul was disobedient, and spared their king; whilst the army, coveting their numerous cattle, destroyed only the vile and refuse. Nor did Saul attempt any apology when reproved for sparing Agag, the Amalekitish king; but in regard to the cattle, he threw the blame upon the people, to whose voice he alleged he had yielded. Upon this,

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[1] The mention of the wars of Saul, at the latter end of 1 Sam. xiv, I take to be a brief summary of the whole of his military career; and the more detailed account of his war with the Amalekites, narrated in chapter xv, an historical episode, describing more particularly the same event noticed in verse 48 of the previous chapter.

[2] Ex. xvii. 14. Deut. xxv. 17—19.

Samuel announced the judgment of God, declaring the family of Saul finally rejected from the throne of Israel; and having ordered Agag before him, he caused him to be put to death.[1] This result affords another proof that the voice of the people is not infallible; and also that he is unfit to be a ruler, who has not courage and firmness to resist their demands, when those demands are inconsistent with the word of God. It is likewise important to observe, that it proved no extenuation of Saul's offence, but an aggravation of it, that he was acting on this occasion in a political capacity.

Samuel was next commissioned to repair to the house of Jesse, an aged Bethlehemite of Judah, in order to anoint a successor to the throne. Not to excite the jealousy of Saul, he appointed a sacrifice in Bethlehem, at the conclusion of which Jesse and his family were detained. On beholding Eliab, the eldest, who was conspicuous for his personal comeliness and stature, Samuel judged that he was the person selected; but God informed him that he was not now looking, as man, upon the outward countenance, but upon the heart. Seven of the sons of Jesse having passed in review before Samuel, without his receiving any token from the Lord, he demanded if there were no other; on which they sent for David, the youngest, a youth of godly spirit, who was then tending his father's sheep; and the divine signal being now given, Samuel anointed him with oil in the presence of his brethren. This was no sooner done, than the Holy Ghost came upon David; and at the same time departed from Saul, who was afterward troubled at seasons with an evil spirit, which afflicted him, during the visitation, with great melancholy and depression.

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[1] From this it appears that Samuel assumed an authority, as high priest, independent of Saul; neither does he appear to have been altogether deprived of his authority as judge. For he is said to have judged Israel "all the days of his life;" which extended considerably into Saul's reign. (1 Sam. vii. 16). And when Saul first summoned the people to the war against the Ammonites, it was "to come forth after Saul and *Samuel*." (1 Sam. xi. 7.)

But the people had also provoked punishment, by keeping the Amalekitish spoil; and God again made use of the Philistines, for the double purpose of scourging Israel, and of introducing to their notice and admiration their future sovereign. The enemy invaded the land with a numerous army, and encamped on an eminence skirting the valley of Elah; the Hebrews occupying the heights on the opposite side. The Philistines had with them a champion named Goliah, a descendant of the Anakim or giants, a man of prodigious stature, who daily exhibited himself to the dismay of Israel, defying their host, and proposing that the question of subjection of the one nation to the other should be decided by single combat with himself. Saul on his part offered a great reward, and to give his daughter in marriage, to the man who should encounter and overcome Goliah.

Whilst the armies were thus lying in sight of each other, David, whose three elder brothers were with Saul, was sent by his father to see after their welfare, and arrived at the Hebrew camp just when a demonstration of battle was being made. At the same moment the Philistines' champion appeared, proclaiming the same challenge, whilst before him the affrighted Hebrews cowered and withdrew. On witnessing these things, David expressed himself with much indignation against the Philistine; and though rebuked by his elder brother, he nevertheless persisted in breathing defiance against Goliah, until his words were at length reported to the king. Saul sent for David to his tent; but his expectation failed when he saw before him, not the brawny sinews and stern aspect of the veteran warrior, but a mere stripling of fair and ruddy countenance, with all the apparent inexperience and simplicity of youth. Saul endeavoured to dissuade him from all thoughts of coping with an enemy so greatly his superior both in strength and military skill; but the sober confidence in God expressed by David evidently affected the king, who finally decided on permitting him to make the attempt.

David declined the armour and weapons furnished him by Saul, and went forth to the encounter with nothing but his shepherd's staff and sling; and Goliah no sooner perceived that he was coming seriously against him, than he wrathfully expressed his disdain of so mean an adversary, and cursed him in the name of his gods. But David slang a stone at him with such force and unerring aim, that it penetrated his temple, and he fell on his face to the earth; on which David ran, and drawing forth Goliah's own sword, smote off his head with it. The Philistines on seeing their champion fall immediately fled; and the Hebrews, pursuing, destroyed them as far as to Gaza and Ekron.

This exploit of David at once established his reputation as a man of war, and procured him favor both with Saul and with the army; but by no one was he so cordially and affectionately received as by Jonathan, the son of Saul, who stripping himself of his garments and implements of war, put them upon David as a pledge of his regard. A kindred spirit appeared to animate them both; for each was brave, generous, modest, open-hearted, and confiding in God; and an inviolable bond of friendship was now formed between them. Saul also appointed David to a post of honour and authority;[1] but an incident, trifling in itself, presently caused an entire change in the king's sentiments towards him. As the army returned home after the victory, the women came out from the cities and villages to greet them; and as they played and danced before the chiefs, the burden of their song was—

"Saul hath slain his thousands
And David his ten-thousands."

The words aroused the jealousy of Saul. He could not but perceive from them, that the real glory of the victory was in popular estimation assigned to David; and though ignorant that he was secretly anointed to be king, yet he began to view him as a rival, and to watch his conduct with suspicion. But David behaved himself in all matters with so much prudence and fidelity, that no occasion of complaint could be found against him.

The malignant spirit of envy continued nevertheless to rankle secretly in the bosom of Saul, being presently increased by an attack of his malady; and he now began to entertain purposes of murder. David presented himself unsuspectingly before him, and with affectionate solicitude strove with his harp and song to soothe the spirit of Saul, as he had successfully done aforetime. But the result was different: Saul, in a paroxysm of jealousy, twice hurled at David the javelin which he played with in his hand,[1] intending to transfix him to the wall; but David succeeded both times in avoiding it, and withdrew from the king's presence.

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[1] It is probable that it was at this time that David was made *armour-bearer* to Saul; but there is considerable difficulty in the scripture narrative, arising from the manifest transposition of some of the facts.

Saul next devised a means of destroying David without appearing to be the murderer himself. He began to speak of giving him his eldest daughter in marriage, in conformity with his promise to the vanquisher of Goliah; but he sent him previously against the enemy, hoping that his desire to distinguish himself on such an occasion (to which he indeed exhorted him) would lead him to expose himself rashly. David, however, returned both safe and victorious, and acquired increased popularity with the nation; but these things only rendered him so much the more an object of dislike and dread to Saul.

The king after all gave his daughter to another man, and David appears to have been happily unaffected by the disappointment. But there was another member of Saul's family who was far from being indifferent in regard to David. This was Michal, his youngest daughter; and Saul was pleased when informed of the circumstance, because it again afforded him an opportunity of exposing his rival to danger. The modesty of David, and perhaps a sense of the recent perfidy of Saul, led him to shrink from the proposed honor, alleging his inability to advance a suitable dowry; but the king, with base hypocrisy, caused it to be privately intimated to him, that he was himself sincerely desirous of the union, and would be content, in regard to dowry, with a hundred foreskins of the Philistines. David on hearing this went forth and slew two hundred of the enemy; on which the king, confounded at the result, without further hesitation gave Michal to him in marriage.

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[1] It was usual for military chieftains to carry the *javelin* on ordinary occasions, as the ensign of authority; just as truncheons were carried by commanders in later times.

The malevolence of Saul was not mitigated by the new relationship in which David now stood in regard to him; and he began to speak against him to Jonathan and his confidential servants, urging them to assassinate him. Jonathan however remonstrated with his father, and so effectually, that Saul appeared to be all at once recalled to a better state of mind: he pledged himself by a solemn oath, that he would not kill David; and Jonathan had the great satisfaction of seeing him apparently reconciled to his friend. But this state of amity was but of brief duration; for a new war having broken out with the Philistines, David took the command of the army against them, and once more returned triumphant; an event which, whilst it rejoiced the nation, only revived the envy and jealousy of Saul. The demoniacal phrenzy came again upon him; he hurled another javelin at David, which the latter again avoided, and the weapon struck into the wall. David was now convinced, that there was no safety for him in the court of Saul; he hastened home, and finding his house soon after beset with men, he escaped by his wife's assistance, and fled to Samuel; who readily received him, and removed with him to Naioth, in the suburbs of Ramah, where there was a college of the prophets.[1]

Immediately that Saul was apprized of David's retreat, he sent persons to apprehend him. But a marvellous scene ensued. The party arrived whilst the company of prophets, with Samuel at their head, were prophesying; when the Spirit of God came upon the messengers of Saul, who, instead of apprehending David, remained and joined in the prophesying. Saul being informed of the circumstance sent a second and a third company; but the result proving the same in each instance, he at length went down himself, when the Spirit of God came once more upon him likewise, and stripping off his robes,[1] he remained with the prophets all that day and night under the same irresistible impulse. Again his hostile feeling appeared to be overcome; but David, now grown cautious by experience, though he returned home, yet plainly stated his mistrust of Saul to his friend Jonathan; with whom a plan was concerted to ascertain the real state of his father's mind toward David, before the latter should venture again into his presence. The experiment terminated by Saul's accusing Jonathan of blindness toward one who was his rival in the throne, and by hurling a javelin at *his* head; upon which Jonathan repaired to David and urged him now to flee, parting from him with many tears.

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[1] There were afterwards similar schools in Bethel, Jericho, and Gilgal. (2 Kings ii. 3, 5; iv. 38.)

David directed his steps for Gath in Philistia, taking however the city of Nob on his way, where dwelt Ahimelech the priest; and by a feigned statement of the circumstances which brought him thither, obtained from Ahimelech a supply of food and a sword, the same which had belonged to Goliah, and which was laid up in this city. Though Ahimelech was no way to blame in this affair, it nevertheless brought upon him swift destruction: for Saul, being informed of it by Doeg, an Edomite, who happened to be at Nob at the time, ordered Ahimelech and his family and all the priests of Nob to be brought before him and put to death. The servants of Saul indeed hesitated to stretch forth their hands against a priest; but Doeg had no such scruples, and fell upon them: not satisfied with which, Saul sent also to Nob and destroyed all the inhabitants thereof; excepting Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, who contrived to escape. This act brought Saul into great odium with the nation, and he was now feared and hated as a tyrant.

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[1] He is said to have prophesied *naked* on this occasion. But among the eastern nations, a man was called naked when divested of his outer garments. Thus Peter is said to have "girt his fisher's coat to him, *for he was naked;*"—i. e. divested of this coat only. (John xxi. 7.) The Greeks called soldiers naked or bare, when they fought without corslets, shields, greaves, or helmets. Thus Xenophon speaks of Cyrus appearing with his head bare, when he was without armour on it only, and had on the usual tiara or cap. See the Κυρου Αναβασις of Xenophon, lib. i. cap. 8, and the notes of Spelman thereon, and on Arrian, No. 119.

David finding himself viewed with suspicion by the king of Gath, returned into Judah to the cave of Adullam, whither there resorted to him various malcontents, among whom was Abiathar, who brought with him an ephod; also the kindred of David, who, observing that Saul's anger had extended to the relatives of those who had succoured David at Nob, reasonably feared for themselves; and many came also who were prompted by attachment to David. By these means he found himself at the head of a band of 400 men. But though he was thus become formidable, he was far from entertaining any design against Saul; whom he regarded, though his enemy, as the *anointed* one of God, the type of the Messiah, bearing the seal of Jehovah's authority. He kept this band of warriors therefore solely for protection; and was content to wait patiently until God should fulfil his promise in regard to the kingdom.

In the meanwhile he performed an important service for his country, by rescuing Keilah from the Philistines; after which, relying on the gratitude of the inhabitants, he quartered his little army in that city. Saul was only watching for his opportunity; and concluding that he had him now pent up, immediately hastened with his forces to besiege him. David however, being in possession of the ephod, consulted God in all his movements and measures of importance; and being therefore divinely warned that the inhabitants of Keilah would betray him, he made good his retreat before Saul had invested the town, and returned to his previous hiding-place.

Saul continued his attempts to apprehend David, who was frequently obliged to change his place of refuge, and often narrowly escaped. At length he fled to the wilderness of Engedi, where a remarkable circumstance occurred. Saul, while hunting him out, turned aside to rest himself in the very cave, in the interior recesses of which David and his men were concealed. The opportunity appeared inviting; and the followers of David urged, that it was manifestly of God, who had thus brought his adversary into his power in order that he might destroy him. But David rather concluded that the occasion was intended to put to the proof his professed reverence for God's anointed one; and therefore restraining his men, he contented himself with cutting off the skirt of the cloak cast over the feet of Saul, and retiring. On Saul's awaking and going forth, David and his men immediately followed, and having shewed him how completely God had placed him in his power, of which the severed garment was convincing proof, he firmly remonstrated with him for allowing evil persons to prejudice his mind with the apprehension that he had designs against his life. The king stood amazed, and once more was overpowered by a better feeling. He wept aloud, acknowledged the righteousness of David, again vowed that he would not molest him, and returned home. But it was only to afford another evidence of his own perfidy and malice; and to David another opportunity of displaying his magnanimity.

The occasion was similar to the former. The inhabitants of Ziph informed Saul that David was in a fresh hiding-place in their neighbourhood. The king could not resist the temptation, but went down immediately with 3000 chosen troops. David however by his superior knowledge of the country was aware of all Saul's movements, and penetrating at night, accompanied only by Abishai, to the spot where he was reposing surrounded by his followers, he carried away the king's cruse of water and spear. Abishai again entreated to be allowed to smite Saul; but David again restrained him, and making round to the top of an adjoining precipice, he shouted till he at length aroused the king and his men from their profound slumber; when, holding forth the trophies he had taken, he again reproached the king for his injustice. Saul on this occasion acknowledged his sin, publicly expressed his conviction that David would be king, and blessing him in the name of the Lord finally departed.

David however was now too well acquainted with the fickleness of Saul to consider himself safe anywhere in his dominions, and once more therefore sought an asylum at Gath. He was now in different circumstances from when he first fled thither, being followed by 600 experienced and trusty warriors, and notoriously hateful to Saul. Achish the king of Gath therefore received him as a friend and ally against a common enemy, and gave him the town of Ziklag for his residence, which ever after appertained to the kings of Judah. But David must have been involved here in considerable embarrassment at times; for he was obliged to indulge his troops (who daily increased in number) with marauding incursions upon the enemies of Israel; and on the other hand to conceal the real object of his expeditions from Achish by falsehoods. Duplicity of this description was probably esteemed consistent in that age with the lawful stratagems of war; but the sentiments and opinions, which happen at any time to prevail among mankind, do not really make a crooked thing straight in the sight of God.

Preparations were at length made by the Philistines for another formidable war against Israel; and Achish, concluding that he had in David a valuable confederate, now summoned him in reality to fight against his countrymen and Saul. The answer of David was ambiguous,—"Surely thou shalt know what thy servant can do:" and it is impossible to say what would have been the result, had God left him in this dilemma to himself. Either he must have turned his hand against Israel, to the great wounding of his conscience, and the hurt of his soul; or, with equal baseness toward his benefactor, he must have deserted Achish. The Lord however mercifully extricated David from the difficulty of his situation, by raising up a jealousy of him among the princes of the Philistines, who would not allow him to take part in the impending contest.

Saul had a melancholy foreboding of the issue of the battle; and his last act was one of singular inconsistency. He had been so far zealous for God, that he had taken pains to root out wizards and witches from the land, and those that had familiar spirits; but because he could obtain no answer from God by any of the usual modes of communication, and Samuel was now deceased, he repaired privily to Endor, to a woman there reputed to have a familiar spirit, that by her means he might learn, if possible, whether the battle would be propitious. The woman, at Saul's request, endeavoured by her incantations to bring up the spirit of Samuel; and was herself apparently astonished by the actual appearance of the prophet. By him Saul was assured that the battle would prove disastrous both to himself and sons and to the nation; and that the punishment, long deferred but not forgotten, was about to fall upon him. The king swooned at the intelligence, and it was with difficulty that his attendants were enabled to restore him sufficiently for him to return before dawn.[1] This impolitic and unlawful step brought with it its own punishment; for the disheartening effects of it upon Saul spread through the army, insomuch that all lacked confidence to face the enemy. The people therefore fled and fell before the Philistines. Among the slain were three of the sons of Saul, including the generous and valiant Jonathan. Saul also, being wounded by an arrow, called to his armour-bearer to make an end of him; but he being deterred by reverence for the rank and office of his master, the king threw himself upon his own sword and perished by suicide; his example being immediately followed by his devoted attendant.

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[1] Much has been written as to the real nature of the apparition of Samuel. It is not probable that the spirits of departed saints should be subject in any measure to the power of unclean spirits; and the woman (as already noticed) was seemingly herself affrighted at the appearance of Samuel. At the same time it is evident from the sacred text, that she professed to bring up the spirits of departed persons, and actually proceeded to practise her usual incantations. Mr. Laine, in his recent work upon the manners and customs of the *modern* Egyptians, gives some striking instances of a black art of this kind practised in that country; to one of which instances Mr. Salt, recently the British consul, was a witness. (See the note also concerning the sorcerers, wizards, &c. of Israel, in page 123.)

Thus terminated the life and reign of Saul, the first king of Israel; not only without having given to the nation that superiority over their enemies, which they desired when they demanded a king, but leaving the affairs of the kingdom in greater jeopardy than he found them. His character contained in it an admixture of opposite vices. On the one hand a wilfulness of spirit, which led him to disregard all considerations both human and divine, when bent upon gratifying his own desires; on the other hand, when no particular private interest or passion interfered, a disposition to make unprincipled concessions to the popular humour. His wilfulness has been sufficiently manifest in his usurpation of the sacred functions of the priesthood; the infamous massacre of the priests and inhabitants of Nob; his untiring and unrighteous persecution of David; and his finally seeking counsel of evil spirits. His disposition to pander at other times to the passions of the multitude was betrayed by his conduct in the war with the Amalekites; but another instance of it has not been narrated. It will be remembered that the treaty, made with the ancient inhabitants of Gibeon by Joshua and the elders, was not popular among the Hebrews in general. The Gibeonites still continued to be objects of dislike; and to gratify the more bigotted of the people, Saul promoted a persecution of them, which proceeded almost to their extermination. The people were doubtless guilty in the matter, as well as the sovereign; and they were punished in the succeeding reign by a grievous famine, which God sent upon the nation, declaredly on account of this unrighteous proceeding; nor was it removed until the Gibeonites were appeased, by having surrendered up to them seven of the descendants of Saul, who were all put to death.

DAVID. [A.M. 2950, A.A.C. 1056.][1] The first intelligence of the battle in which Saul fell was conveyed to David by an Amalekite, who had been in the retinue of Saul, and near to him at his death. Finding himself left by the self-destruction both of the king and his armour-bearer without a witness, he took possession of the crown and bracelet of Saul, and hastening with them to David, feigned that he had found Saul wounded, and that at his own request he had despatched him. Producing the crown and bracelet, he looked to be received as a welcome messenger; but David immediately ordered him to be put to death, for having, on his own confession, dared to lift his hand against the Lord's Christ, or anointed. David and his followers then rent their clothes, in token of their grief, and fasted until evening before God. His unaffected sorrow, not only for his friend Jonathan, but even for his persecutor Saul, is seen in the touching and beautiful elegy which he composed on the occasion. (2 Sam. i.)

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[1] The destruction of the temple having been fixed by concurrent sacred and profane testimony to the *year before Christ* 578; and as the period backward from thence to the beginning of the reign of David may be reckoned with accuracy; I have here adopted the reckoning A.A.C. or before Christ 1056, which I shall pursue from this point from the computation of W. F. Clinton, Esq.

David betrayed no eagerness to secure the throne. He first asked counsel of God, and was directed to remove to Hebron; arrived at which city he was immediately anointed king over Judah. But the sovereignty of the remaining portion of Israel was not so readily conceded. For Abner, the captain-general of Saul's forces, a brave, talented, and experienced soldier, set up Ishbosheth, one of the surviving sons of Saul, and procured for him the allegiance of the remaining tribes. This state of things was patiently submitted to by David, who appeared to be without ambition of further dominion, and desirous to avoid a civil war. But after a few years had elapsed, part of the forces of Ishbosheth, commanded by Abner, and part of the troops of David, under Joab his nephew, met accidentally by the pool of Gibeon; and military sports being proposed by Abner, a mock fight was unexpectedly converted into a real one, which brought on a war between the two kings. Scarcely however had it commenced, when Ishbosheth offended Abner, who immediately took measures to bring over the whole kingdom to David; and having come to Hebron, to make the necessary arrangements, he was there treacherously assassinated by Joab and Abishai his brother, in revenge of the death of their brother Asahel, whom Abner had reluctantly killed in self-defence in the skirmish at the pool of Gibeon. David warmly deprecated their deed, and complained aloud, that though he was anointed king, his hands were yet too weak to punish their headiness and presumption. He ordered a public funeral for Abner, which, he himself joined in as chief mourner, and afterwards he promoted the son of Abner to be ruler over the tribe of Benjamin. (1 Chron. xxxvii. 22.)

On the tidings of Abner's death being spread through the tribes, all became troubled, persuaded that the stay of their kingdom was now gone. Baanah and Rechab therefore, sons of Ishbosheth, eager to ingratiate themselves with David,—and not profiting by the fate of the Amalekite, who pretended to David that he had killed their grandfather Saul,—assassinated their father, and having cut off his head, hastened with it during the night to Hebron, and presented it to David.[1] The king was horrified at the wickedness and impiety of the act, and immediately ordered them for execution. Ishbosheth was in fact little better than a usurper,—a weak and feeble puppet in the hands of Abner,—and was justly made an example for assuming a dignity which he well knew belonged to another; but the conduct of David was so much the more magnanimous toward the house of Saul; and throughout he is distinguished by a remarkable freedom from those emotions of envy, jealousy, ambition and revenge, which too commonly are found, under similar temptations, as blots in the reputation of the princes of this world.

[A.A.C. 1048.] The chief men of the eleven tribes now repaired with one heart to David; and all obstacles being removed, he was made king over Israel, and found himself at once firmly fixed both in the throne and in the affections of the people. And there was great rejoicing and festivity in Israel on the occasion; for they could not but perceive how manifestly the whole had been brought to pass by the hand of God, and not by the hand of David.

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[1] It is said in the scriptures, that they went in to their father under pretence of passing through the house to fetch *wheat;* which illustrates in some measure the manners and customs of that age. It would appear strange in the present day to find a granary of wheat so situate within the palace of a king, that it could not be reached without passing through the principal part of the house; and still more so to find his own sons, when not on military duty, engaged as millers.

Before the rejoicings were concluded, David concerted measures for bringing up the ark of God; but his arrangements for this object were necessarily deferred by an unexpected warfare. Large bodies of troops had accompanied their princes and leaders to Hebron on this occasion;[1] upon which the Philistines, taking advantage of the unprotected state of the country, invaded it at several points. They found however to their cost that God was with David; who twice defeated them, and acquired so great renown, that his fame spread into all the countries round about. Among others Hiram king of Tyre sent an embassy to him, and an alliance commenced at this time between the Hebrews and Tyrians, which proved of great commercial advantage to Israel.

The inhabitants of Jebus next provoked an attack by a gratuitous and insulting defiance. Notwithstanding the remarkable manner in which this city had been previously designated to Israel, it had nevertheless defied from its position every attempt to take it. David however succeeded in capturing it; and changing (or rather restoring) its name to Salem and Jeru-salem,[1] made it his chief residence. Whilst besieging it, he heedlessly and indiscriminately promised to the first man who should mount the parapet and smite the Jebusites, the dignity of captain-general. Joab accomplished the exploit, and thus David got more deeply embarassed with a man, whom he apparently both disliked and feared.

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[1] The number of troops assembled on this occasion was 350,000; and the enumeration of the quota furnished by each tribe, found in 1 Chron. xii. 23, shows how greatly wasted some of those tribes must have become, owing to their being in the vicinity of powerful enemies, or to their being reduced by protracted warfare. Judah only furnished 6800 men, Benjamin only 3000, and Simeon only 7100. While the tribes east of Jordan supplied 120,000, and Asher, Naphtali, and Zebulon, who were equally remote from the theatre of war, furnished 127,000.

He now proceeded to bring up the ark from Gibeah, whither it had been removed by Saul; for which ceremony he selected a chosen body of 30,000 men from all Israel, together with a large company of singers and performers on musical instruments. But the solemnity was interrupted by a circumstance which cast a gloom over all, and caused even David to forget for the moment the sovereignty and majesty of that God whom he was endeavouring to glorify. On the waggon which contained the ark arriving at a certain point, the oxen stumbled and jolted it, when a man named Uzzah, who was neither priest nor Levite, officiously putting forth his hand to steady the ark, was immediately struck dead, as a token of the Lord's displeasure. For not only ought the ark to have been under the sole care and direction of the priests and Levites; but also to have been carried on their shoulders, according to the express appointment of the Lord.[2]

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[1] We have seen (see note, p. 6,) that this place was called *Salem*, in the time of Melchizedec; and that it was again so called, for brevity, in David's time, is evident from Psalm lxxvi. 2. The addition of *Jireh* (q. d. *Jireh-Salem*) appears to have been given from Abraham having named Mount Moriah, which was in Zion, Jehovah-*Jireh*: for that Mount Moriah was the identical spot where the temple was afterwards built is evident from 2 Chron. iii. 1. How the Canaanites, after Melchizedec's time, came to call it *Jebus*, which signifies "trodden under foot," does not appear; beyond the fact that Jebus was a descendant of Canaan, and probably gave his own name to it.

[2] The circumstances which have reference to the priestly and prophe-

David was so offended at the death of Uzzah, that he left the ark at the house of Obed-edom, a Levite, where it remained for three months; until the blessing which came in consequence upon Uzzah's family was so manifest, as to lead David to determine again on bringing up the ark to Jerusalem. He took care however, on this occasion, to give strict orders that the Levites only should minister about it, and carry it on their shoulders; (1 Chron. xv.) and he likewise directed the chiefs of the Levites to appoint suitable persons from among themselves, both to sing the praises of God, and to perform upon the instruments of music. As for David, he abandoned himself to a transport of joy, dancing and singing before the ark in a manner which evinced the lively interest he took in the proceeding; whilst all Israel accompanied the procession, with shoutings and

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tical offices are commonly confounded. The *prophetical* office was not *limited*, wherefore Joshua was forbidden to restrain Eldad and Medad from prophesying in the camp; and numerous persons were raised up, at various periods, out of the different tribes of Israel, who in like manner exercised the gift of prophecy. At the same time none could lawfully assume the prophetical office without a heavenly endowment for it; which consisted, in this early period of the church, in the Spirit of God coming upon them, either by the prophetical afflatus or otherwise, but in a manner that was easily distinguishable, and served therefore as a token from God. But the *priestly* office and the performance of the services of the tabernacle and temple, were strictly limited to the sons of Aaron and to the Levites, and was most jealously guarded from intrusion. Dathan and Abiram met therefore with condign punishment, when they conspired with Korah to invade it, alleging the sanctity and privilege of the whole congregation. Korah indeed, though not of the family of Aaron, was nevertheless a Levite, and so far not guilty to the same extent as Dathan and Abiram; and it is remarkable that a distinction was therefore made in their punishment, inasmuch as the *children* of the former were not cut off as were those of the latter. (Compare Numb. xvi. 27—33, and xxvi. 11.) Saul also was deposed for offering sacrifice, not being a priest, though he had the gift of prophecy. Uzzah was struck dead for the like reason, when he presumed to touch the ark: and the men of Bethshemesh were smitten with pestilence for curiously inspecting it.

great gladness. In this manner they brought the ark into the city, and deposited it in a magnificent pavilion prepared for its reception; after which David offered numerous sacrifices and burnt-offerings, and having feasted the whole multitude, he blessed them in the name of the Lord and dismissed them.

David now turned his attention to the internal affairs of the kingdom, and to those of religion in particular. To him the Hebrews were indebted for a more systematic arrangement of the services of public worship; the classification of the priests and Levites into regular courses; and the enrichment of the national Psalmody. He regulated also the courts of law; and justice was diligently and uprightly administered by himself and sons.

[A.A.C. 1043.]—Having settled these domestic matters, he next again engaged in various conflicts with the enemies of Israel; in all of which it pleased God to prosper his arms. He wrested from the Philistines a strong fortress on the borders, called Metheg-Ammah, or *the bridle of bondage*, (supposed to be the same as Gath: compare 2 Sam. viii. 1, and 1 Chron. xviii. 1,) by means of which they had kept the country in awe, and secured for themselves a safe point for aggression or retreat. He reduced the Moabites and Edomites to great distress, rendering the former tributary, and filling the cities and towns of Edom with Hebrew garrisons. He next attacked the Syrians of Zobah, which had become a considerable state, between the Jordan and Euphrates. He routed their king, taking from him 1000 chariots and 700 horses, besides which upwards of 20,000 infantry were slain or taken prisoners. And upon the Syrians of Damascus advancing to assist those of Zobah, he defeated them also with a further loss of 22,000 men; after which they were unable longer to resist the progress of his arms; and placing his troops as garrisons in their cities, he reduced them to the condition of a tributary state. Some of the soldiers of the king of Zobah were equipped with shields of solid gold, which David deposited as a trophy at Jerusalem. He took from them likewise an immense booty in brass; but was careful to destroy the horses, which they were forbidden by the law to multiply, lest the Hebrews should be induced to put their trust in these things, instead of in the Lord Jehovah.

[A.A.C. 1043 to 1039.]—The Syrians however presently attempted to throw off the yoke; the occasion of which attempt was as follows. The king of the Ammonites died, and David, having received kindness from him in the days of his adversity, sent a message of condolence to Hanun his son. But the nobles of Ammon, mistrustful of the object of the ambassadors, induced the young prince to shave off half the beards of the deputies, and cut off the skirts of their robes, (the greatest indignities he could have offered,) and to send them thus insulted back to David. Aware that he had committed himself, Hanun immediately sent messengers among the neighbouring Syrian tribes, and obtained from them an auxiliary force, amounting to 32,000 men, chiefly mounted in chariots. Joab was dispatched against this host of enemies, whom he met at Medeba. In the first instance he was surrounded by the multitude, and in great danger of being overwhelmed; but drawing out the choice of his troops, and committing the remainder to the care of his brother Abishai, he fell with such vehemence on the Syrians that they gave way and were routed; on seeing which, the Ammonites also fled, and betook themselves to their cities.

The king of Zobah was nevertheless in a condition to send another and more numerous army into the field; hearing of which, David likewise assembled all the disposable forces of Israel, and falling upon the Syrians at Helam, he defeated them in a pitched battle, destroying 47,000 men. Shobach, their general, was among the slain, and 7000 chariots and numerous horses were captured. The princes subject to the king of Zobah were now glad to obtain terms of peace; and the Ammonites being thus deprived of their allies, David left Joab to besiege Rabbah, their capital; and when it was on the point of surrender, went down in person and completed the capture himself. He terribly avenged on this occasion the insult offered to his ambassadors; putting some of the inhabitants to death by saws and axes and harrows, and making others of them pass through the brick kiln, in the same manner that they dealt with their own children when they sacrificed them to their gods. Their punishment is an awful type of that dreadful retribution which the true David will hereafter take on those, who have insulted or despised *his* ambassadors of peace.[1]

The glory of David had now attained its zenith; when just as he was disposed to say in his heart, "Lord by thy favour thou hast made my mountain to stand strong," (Psalm xxx. 7,) he became involved in domestic troubles and rebellions, some of which shook his kingdom to its centre. The declared cause of this chastisement from God was *sin*, of an aggravated character, committed by David. For, whilst Joab was with the army before Rabbah, David was guilty of adultery with Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, an Hittite, who is named among the thirty worthies of David's army. (1 Chron. xi. 40.) And as one transgression commonly leads to another, so David, fearing a discovery of his guilt, and being foiled in an attempt to impose on Uriah by stratagem, wrote privately to Joab, directing him to employ Uriah on some dangerous service in the siege, and to leave him unsupported. Joab proved but too obsequious, and the arrows of the enemy too unerring; and thus was treacherously sacrificed one of the most valiant and devoted of the early followers of David.

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[1] Some endeavour to give another sense to the Hebrew, and to make it appear that David only reduced the Ammonites to slavery. Such a reading however is forced, and supported by none of the ancient versions.

No sooner were the days of mourning over, than David married Bathsheba, who bore him a son.[1] But though he had now accomplished his guilty purpose, so far as to prevent the confusion of discovery on the part of Uriah, he could not elude the observation and just indignation of Jehovah. The prophet Nathan was commissioned to announce to him from the Lord, that the child which was the fruit of this guilty intimacy should be smitten with death; that his kingdom should be harassed, during the remainder of his reign, by civil warfare, and by troubles in his own family; in the course of which his own wives should be violated: with this difference only,—that whereas David's offence against Uriah was committed secretly, the retributive outrage against himself should be perpetrated openly.

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[1] David had various wives at this time. 1. *Michal*, Saul's daughter, whom the Lord smote with barrenness, for having despised and reproved David, when he danced before the ark. 2. *Abigail*, a widow of great beauty and address, whom he married under romantic circumstances when he was in the wilderness. 3. *Ahinoam*, a female of Jezreel, of whom was born Amnon, David's eldest son. 4. *Maacah*, daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur, of whom he had Absalom. 5. *Haggith*, who was the mother of Adonijah. 6. *Abital*, of whom Shephatiah. 7. *Eglah*, of whom Ithream.

It is worthy of remark, that the principal reason assigned in the divine message for this punishment was, that David, by his evil conduct, had given great occasion to the Lord's *enemies* to blaspheme. This betrays that David had not been so concealed from the observation of the world, as he had flattered himself. His offence was already bruited; and whilst the pious followers of God would be distressed and grieving at his fall, "the enemies of the Lord" (of whom there were always too many, even in Israel,) were triumphing. The extent of the mischief of such inconsistency in professors of religion is not to be calculated: down to the present day the effect of David's sin has not ceased, but the ungodly still make it an occasion of profane blasphemy, and of speaking reproachfully against the children of God. The Lord however was merciful towards his servant. Though it was necessary that he should be thus chastised, the guilt of his sin was put away; whilst the temporal punishment which he endured was blessed to the greater humbling and purifying of his soul.

The scourge quickly followed. The child just born to him sickened and died. A flagrant instance of depravity soon after occurred in his family: the incestuous ravishment of his daughter Tamar by her half-brother Amnon, David's eldest son. David would apparently have passed over this outrage; but not so the Lord. Absalom, the own brother of Tamar, meditated revenge; and about two years afterwards he invited his brethren and Amnon to a banquet; when, at a given signal, his servants rushed upon the offender and slew him. The brethren of Absalom fled in terror; whilst he betook himself to Talmai, king of Geshur, his mother's father, who readily afforded him a refuge. Thus, in addition to the violation of his daughter, David was bereaved of his son Amnon, and another son was in voluntary exile.

[A.A.C. 1036.]—In the meanwhile God gave him a second son by Bathsheba, whom he named *Solomon* and *Jedidiah*, i. e. a *recompense*, and *beloved of the Lord;* for God graciously regarded him, and he became David's successor to the throne.

At the end of three years, by an ingenious device, Joab, who was the intimate friend of Absalom, obtained permission from David (already well inclined to it) to fetch him home from Geshur: but this step only proved to his further confusion and distress. The dissensions in David's family had given rise to various parties and factions among their respective friends, whereby the fountains of justice in the empire flowed less purely; whilst the recent conduct of the king himself, in the matter of Uriah, was calculated to diminish the good opinion of him previously entertained. Presuming therefore on the dissatisfaction expressed in various quarters, Absalom determined on aspiring to the sovereignty, and immediately set himself to court popularity. For this enterprise he was in some respects well fitted by nature. To great personal beauty he added a bland and engaging address, and he was acquainted with those various arts, by means of which the wily demagogue knows how to cajole the judgment and affections of the multitude. He indirectly insinuated, rather than openly alleged, that neglect prevailed in the administration of justice. He frequented the public forum or gate, where causes were tried; and calling to him each party privately, learned from the suitors themselves the facts and circumstances of their cases; having done which he intimated, that he considered their cause good; but lamented that no person was appointed to try it, in terms which left it to be inferred, that, were he king, justice should be administered both more expeditiously and better. He likewise affected great pomp, moving about in ordinary with a retinue of chariots and horses and fifty running footmen; notwithstanding which, when any approached to do him obeisance, he prevented them, by catching them by the hand and kissing them. Thus he "crouched and humbled himself that the poor might fall by his strong ones;" and succeeded in beguiling the hearts of Israel.

[A.A.C. 1028.]—At length when his plans were matured, he repaired to Hebron, under pretence of keeping a vow which he had made at Geshur; but he secretly dispatched emissaries throughout the land to apprise those friendly to him of his intended revolt, and that at a given signal they were to rise simultaneously and declare him king. The plot was managed with consummate dexterity and address. When Absalom quitted Jerusalem he sent special invitations to two hundred persons of character and influence, who were not privy to his designs; but who complied with his invitations in the simplicity of their hearts, and by their undesigned countenance made the defection appear more extensive than it really was, thus determining to his side that numerous class, who only wait on such occasions to see which party is the more likely to prevail. At the same time the conspiracy was really extensive, and included in it many persons of authority and rank.

Alarmed at the news of this rebellion, and desirous also to save Jerusalem from assault, David quitted the city with his adherents, and took the way toward the wilderness. Barefooted and having their heads covered, they crossed the brook Kedron, and ascended the Mount of Olives, weeping as they went; the whole country through which they passed joining in the lamentation. On arriving at the summit of the Mount, David offered solemn worship to Jehovah; after which he sent back the ark of God, together with Zadok and Abiathar, the chief priests, that they might transmit to him secret intelligence from time to time of the progress of affairs. He likewise directed his friend and counsellor Hushai to return and join the party of Absalom, in order to counteract, if practicable, the advice of Ahitophel, a man possessed of so much natural penetration and sagacity, that his opinions came to be regarded as oracular. He had been chief counsellor to David; but had revolted to Absalom, being moved perhaps by personal resentment; for he was the grandfather of Bathsheba, and father-in-law therefore to the injured Uriah.

David had left his palace in charge of ten concubines, concluding that Absalom would respect them; but the first counsel of Ahitophel was, that he should defile them, that thereby Israel might see that he was compromised with his father, beyond all hope of reconciliation, and so be prevented from wavering. The advice was complied with by Absalom, who, in order to make the matter more notorious, caused a pavilion to be erected on the roof of the palace, and resorted to it with the concubines, "in the face of the sun," thus fulfilling part of Nathan's prophecy.

A council was immediately after called to consider the propriety of giving battle to David. Ahitophel offered, that if Absalom would place a force of 12,000 men at his disposal, he would that same night fall upon David, whose men, now wearied and discouraged, would, he concluded, be surprised by the suddenness of the attack, and take to flight; that he should then easily smite the king; and by this one blow put an end to the conflict. The advice was generally applauded; but Hushai having now joined Absalom, and being called upon for his opinion, deprecated the attempt as rash against such an adversary; and advised that Absalom should rather wait, and summon all Israel to his aid, and then attack David with a force which must necessarily overwhelm him. This counsel was still more approved by Absalom and his adherents, who were judicially infatuated of the Lord; whilst Ahitophel, mortified at the result, went home and hanged himself.

The particulars of this council were secretly conveyed to David by the sons of Zadoc and Abiathar; on receiving which intelligence he broke up in the same instant from the position he had taken on the Jordan, and crossing the river proceeded to Mahanaim, a strongly-fortified city. Here he organized his forces and strengthened himself by fresh arrivals.

In the meanwhile Absalom, having collected a large army, advanced to Mahanaim, and offered battle. The friends of David would not allow him to take the field in person, prudently considering, that, if he fell, their entire cause was lost. He therefore drew up his army in three divisions, which he placed under the command of Joab, Abishai, and Ittai, (a Philistine of Gath, but an attached follower of David,) and sent them forth to the encounter, but with a special charge to spare the life of Absalom. The position of the latter was embarrassed by an intricate and extensive wood, which deprived him of the advantage of his superior numbers; the consequence of which was that his army was easily overthrown. Twenty thousand men were slaughtered in the passes of the thicket by which they fled, which had become familiar to the troops of David. Absalom himself endeavoured to escape by the same route; but his long and flowing hair, which had been his pride, now proved the means of his destruction; for becoming entangled by it in the boughs of a tree, his mule passed from under him, and left him suspended by the head. On being informed of this circumstance, Joab hastened to the spot, and, notwithstanding the king's commandment, slew Absalom, and casting the body into a pit, caused a large quantity of stones to be thrown upon it. The rest of the army of Absalom was then permitted to escape.

David was speedily informed of the successful issue of the contest; but the news of Absalom's fate threw him nevertheless into a paroxysm of grief, and he retired to his house weeping and passionately calling upon his name. This unseasonable demonstration had nearly proved of serious consequence. For the soldiers, not meeting with the usual reception after a victory, stole away to their quarters, as if vanquished, and a spirit of defection was beginning to spread; when Joab went into the king, and roughly remonstrated with him on the impolicy of his conduct. This aroused David from his stupefaction; he immediately went and sat in the gate for the purpose of receiving the soldiery; and a good understanding was speedily restored.

The nation now found itself in a dilemma. They had plunged into rebellion against a monarch whom they still admired; the battle had proved adverse to them; and they were satisfied that the exigency of their affairs required of them to take some immediate steps in order to conciliate the king: but they were without a leader, and no one seemed disposed to make the first overtures of submission. At this juncture David again acted in a manner, which cannot be considered otherwise than impolitic and unjustifiable. Desirous that the men of Judah, his own tribe, should take the lead, he privately despatched messengers to his friends Zadoc and Abiathar, directing them to endeavour and bring this matter about, and authorizing them to promise Amasa, who had commanded the forces of Absalom, that he should be captain in the room of Joab. Joab had long been troublesome to the king; who had probably learned likewise, that he had been the immediate cause of Absalom's death; but it was nevertheless particularly ungracious to seize an opportunity of degrading him, when he had just received important services at his hands; and it was especially dangerous in principle to promote a man who had so recently been engaged in rebellion against him. The effect however of these overtures were irresistible upon the men of Judah: they were influenced as with one heart, immediately invited the king to return, and marched forth to conduct him over the Jordan.

[A.A.C. 1021, A.M. 2982.]—The satisfaction of the country at the return of David was not without alloy.

The prominence given to the men of Judah in the affair excited the jealousy of the other tribes, and a war of bitter words and recrimination commenced between them, which ended in another rebellion. The immediate author of it was Sheba, a Benjamite of infamous character. This tribe appears to have been particularly jealous of the elevation of David, probably arising from the fact that Saul, who was a Benjamite, had given all the chief appointments of the state to individuals of his own tribe; so that they had a selfish interest in regretting and wishing to restore his dynasty. Sheba therefore readily persuaded the Benjamites that they were neglected by David, and finding that they listened to his murmurings, he openly raised the standard of revolt; and the other tribes, excepting Judah, with a surprising fickleness, took part with them. Amasa, the new captain-general, being too tardy in his movements, David sent forth the army under the care of Abishai, leaving Amasa to join them on the march; which he no sooner did than he was assassinated by Joab, who at the same time usurped the supreme command. He nevertheless pressed furiously after Sheba, and drove him from city to city; till at Abel-beth-maachah, the inhabitants, in order to save themselves from being stormed and pillaged, cut off his head, and threw it over the wall to Joab. This put an end to the war; and Joab returned victorious to Jerusalem: nor did David, however he might secretly resent his conduct, find himself strong enough to punish him.

The famine which took place about this period, on account of the oppressive treatment of the Gibeonites in the reign of Saul, has been already noticed. It was immediately followed by a war with the Philistines, who, presuming upon the distracted state of Israel from civil discords, took the opportunity of again invading them; but they were subdued, after having been vanquished in four different engagements. The chief incident worthy of recording in this war is the perilous condition in which David was placed; who, now grown feeble through age, was overpowered in the first battle by Ishbi-benob, a man of enormous stature, who would have slain him, had not Abishai come to his rescue. After this the Hebrews would not suffer David to go forth to battle in person, lest, as they alleged, "the light of Israel should be quenched."

[A.M. 2985. A.A.C. 1018.]—An event followed, which, though David was again in fault, is expressly stated to have been permitted as a punishment to Israel; whose recent seditions and wanton revolts were indeed well calculated to provoke the anger of God. The immediate occasion of the wrath was a census of the people which David ordered, apparently to ascertain if God had fulfilled his promise to make them numerous as the stars for multitude. Joab again remonstrated, and his conduct on this occasion contrasted advantageously for himself with the king's perverseness: for David still persisted, and the work was commenced; but, after it had been prosecuted for ten months, it was arrested by a pestilence, which in three days carried off 70,000 persons. The mortality in Jerusalem alone was prodigious; and the destroying angel, who was commissioned to effect it, made himself visibly manifest to David at the threshing floor of one Ornan, or Araunah, a Jebusite. On beholding this apparition, David, who was already clothed in sackcloth in token of his humiliation, fell on his face before God, as did the elders who were with him, confessing his own sins, and interceding for the people. God was entreated, and David was directed, through the prophet Gad, to erect an altar in the threshing floor of Araunah, the spot over which he had seen the angel, and there to offer sacrifice; and God visibly accepted the sacrifice, by sending down fire from heaven which consumed it, and the plague was stayed. David afterwards directed that the result of this census should not be recorded in the chronicles of the kingdom; but we are nevertheless informed, that the number who actually bore arms amounted to no less than 1,300,000, of which the large proportion of 500,000 were Jews. This was exclusive of the two tribes of Levi and Benjamin, of the aged males and those under twenty years of age, and of course of the females of all ages.

[A.A.C. 1019 TO 1016.]—A period of tranquillity followed, during which David was employed in further regulating the internal affairs of the kingdom, and in making preparations for the erection of a magnificent temple for divine worship. Every thing appeared to promise peace; when suddenly a new rebellion burst forth in his own family. Adonijah, the brother of Absalom, conspired to set aside the succession to the throne, which had been appointed of God to Solomon, the son of Bathsheba, who was yet but a youth. Presuming upon the great age and bodily weakness of his father, he prepared him horses, chariots, and running footmen, and at once affected all the pomp of royalty. Adonijah was but little inferior to Absalom in personal attractiveness; and the conspiracy soon became formidable from the parties drawn into it. Joab was a principal conspirator on this occasion, (probably from resentment at the coldness of David towards him, and from having some apprehension how it might fare with him under Solomon,) and even Abiathar was numbered with them, one of the two chief priests, who had hitherto been faithfully attached to the fortunes of the king. The blow indeed was not aimed at David personally: he was not only permitted to live, but was surrounded by the usual state, and received the apparent homage of the conspirators; but by their artifices he was kept in ignorance of what was really transpiring; whilst the usurper so carried matters before the public, as to make it appear that with the consent of David he was appointed his successor in the throne, and thus he virtually established himself as regent.

Nathan however, the prophet, concerted a plan with Bathsheba to communicate to the king what was going forward, and to ward off from herself and son the blow designed for them. David was greatly moved at the intelligence, but no time was to be lost, and he resolved therefore immediately to constitute Solomon king. To this end he sent for Nathan the prophet, Zadok the priest, who continued faithful, and Benaiah, an officer of merit and renown.[1] He directed them to place Solomon on his own mule, and having led him to Gihon, a fountain on the west of Jerusalem, there to anoint and proclaim him king, and then to return and actually instal him on the throne of David.

The cause of Adonijah seems to have found adherents more among the aristocracy than with the multitude. He was at this time engaged in entertaining the royal family and chief nobles with a splendid banquet; but the populace followed with great joy in the train of Solomon, who was surrounded by the body guards[1] of David, and gave way to unbounded demonstrations of joy. Many of the officers, also, and servants of David, hastened to the palace to congratulate him, and to testify their satisfaction.

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[1] David in regulating the internal affairs of the kingdom, instituted a military order of merit or knighthood, which was divided into three classes, three persons only being in each of the two first classes, and the third consisting of thirty. Benaiah was in the second, and from 1 Chron. xxvii. 5, appears to have been originally a priest.

The tumult occasioned by these rejoicings was heard at the banqueting-table of Adonijah, and having ascertained the cause, the guests, seized with fear, instantly arose and dispersed, leaving Adonijah entirely deserted; and thus did this seemingly formidable conspiracy melt away without a blow! Adonijah went and caught hold of the horns of the altar, hoping that the sanctuary would prove a refuge; but Solomon peremptorily commanded him to be brought before him; and upon Adonijah's praying for his life, the young king gave him to understand, that it would depend upon his ability to exculpate himself, and sternly ordered him to his house.

David's next and last official act was to convene a general assembly of the princes, nobles, priests, Levites, and officers of all ranks, to whom he presented Solomon; and informed them that it was by the special appointment of God that he succeeded him in the throne. He next mentioned the temple which he had projected to build, but which the Lord had prevented him in, and appointed that Solomon should accomplish; he exhorted them to co-operate with him heartily in the work; and concluded by dwelling earnestly on the importance to Solomon and the people, if they would prosper, that both he and they should diligently keep the commandments of God.

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[1] These were the faithful Cherethites and Pelethites, foreigners and chiefly Philistines. See the note chap. i. p. 10.

The assembly now inaugurated Solomon the second time with great pomp and ceremony; and Zadok was with like solemnity installed as pontiff; Abiathar, who had sinned by revolting, being passed over. They likewise gave earnest of their readiness to aid Solomon in the magnificent work which he was about to undertake, by liberal offerings toward it; and an excellent spirit pervaded every heart. The city was filled with sacrifices, festivity and rejoicing: a thousand bullocks, a thousand rams, and a thousand lambs, with the due proportions of wine, oil, and fine flour were offered as an oblation to the Lord. David praised God and blessed the people, expressing his delight and gratitude at their free-will offerings: and the people worshipped the Lord, and did obeisance to Solomon, with apparent sentiments of piety and veneration. The ceremony was finally concluded with a special prayer offered up by the king for Solomon and the nation.

Solomon received from his royal parent a private admonition to walk in the ways of God, and he was likewise charged to take a suitable opportunity of punishing Shimei and Joab. The former had cursed and insulted David as he retreated before Absalom; the latter he still permitted to live, though now in evident displeasure, and removed from all command, Benaiah being appointed captain of the host.[1]

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[1] Those who justly consider the reigns of David and Solomon, the anointed of God, as typical in numerous events and circumstances of the affairs and actions of the true Messiah,—the one representing Christ suffering and militant, and the other Christ glorified and tri-

The last words of David, or rather his last *prophetical* words, declaredly spoken in and by the Holy Spirit, are recorded. Divesting them of the words *supplied* in the English translation, which though they make them to declare a truth of general applition to rulers, deprive them of that particular reference to the Messiah, which they were seemingly intended to convey, these words are as follow:—" The JUST ONE shall be ruler over men, ruling in the fear of the Lord; even as the light of the morning at sunrise, a morning without clouds, as the tender grass springs from the earth by clear shining after rain. Although my house is not so with God; yet hath he made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure: for this is all my salvation and desire, although he make it not to grow. But the sons of Belial shall be all of them as thorns thrust away, because they cannot be taken with hands; but the man that shall touch them must be fenced with iron and the staff of

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umphant,—will not fail to have observed the remarkable coincidence, in the history of David, of his crossing the brook Kedron in the hour of his affliction, and repairing to Mount Olivet, where he poured out his soul in prayer; and of Ahitophel, like another Judas, having first taken sweet counsel with David, then turning traitor, and giving counsel to his enemies, and finally hanging himself. It is worthy of remark also, that the party opposed to God's anointed one (in other words, the *Antichrist*) appears under three different heads,—Absalom, Sheba, and Adonijah; the last of which is destroyed without a battle by the appearance of the king (Solomon) in glory; before whom he suddenly melts away, and his power is dissipated, like a dream when one awaketh. And we have also seen David, the Christ militant, preparing for the glory of his kingdom, and to build up the Temple of God in the midst of all its distractions, and the warfare and rebellion of his people;—we have seen also a preparation made, in his last charge to Solomon, for the rooting out of evil-doers; as well as previously for the praise of them that do well;—and then the Christ coming forth in his glory, ruling in the midst of his enemies, and his people made willing in the day of his power, and prepared to build up the Tabernacle of David.

a spear; and they shall be burned with fire from their place."[1]

Thus terminated the reign of David; a man who notwithstanding his sins and defects was an eminent saint and servant of God. His simple faith and confidence in Jehovah, and his constantly seeking to him for counsel, form an admirable pattern of what a ruler ought to be; whilst his deep repentance and humility after his transgression, as evinced by the psalms he has left, shew that sin was in the main abhorred by him, and that his afflictions were sanctified. God has, in David's case, strikingly shewn, that he is concerned to chasten even his dearest children when they transgress: for after his sin, he was to the end of his reign exercised by serious afflictions and troubles; and devoid of that admirable prudence and judgment which characterized his previous career. But the Lord nevertheless shone in upon him at the last, and he departed full of days, riches, and honours, having subdued his enemies on every side, united all parties in the state, and witnessed a beloved son established as his successor in the throne, and magnified by the Lord with such royal majesty as had never been seen before. He died in the seventieth year of his age, and the fortieth of his reign.

SOLOMON.—[A.M. 2990, A.A.C. 1016.] The reign of Solomon forms the most glorious epoch, politically considered, in the history of the Hebrew nation. That strength and majesty which it pleased God to give to him, from the moment that his father caused him to be proclaimed king, was by no means diminished after David's death; but his kingdom was established all at once in a marvellous and unprecedented manner, the hearts of his subjects being inclined toward him with one accord, so that they vied with each other in dutiful homage.

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[1] Dr. Gill has shewn this to be the proper reading. The words evidently do not refer to the house of David, for he declares that his house is *not* so with God. The consciousness of his sin, and of its evil effects, must have prevented such a conclusion. Nor could he speak them of Solomon; for he avers, that God made it not yet to grow. The *Just* or *Righteous One* was a familiar title of the expected Messiah. Jeremiah seems expressly to refer to these last words of David, chap. xxxiii. 15; and see also Isa. liii. 11; Jer. xxiii. 6; Acts iii. 14; vii. 52; xxii. 14.

The first act of his reign was to summon all the princes, rulers, and officers of Israel to Gibeon, where the tabernacle and the brazen altar had been removed, and still remained; and there he offered a thousand burnt-offerings. This act of solemn and public recognition of God was immediately answered by a divine vision, the Lord appearing to him at night, and inviting him to ask whatsoever he would. The request of Solomon, and the terms in which it was couched, so beautifully illustrate his character and state of mind at this period, that it must be given in his own words. "Thou hast shewed unto thy servant David, my father, great mercy, according as he walked before thee in truth, in righteousness, and in uprightness of heart with thee; and thou hast kept for him this great kindness, that thou hast given him a son to sit on his throne as at this day. And now, O Lord my God, thou hast made thy servant king, instead of David my father, and I am but a little child: I know not how to go out or to come in: and thy servant is in the midst of thy people which thou hast chosen, a great people, that cannot be numbered nor counted for multitude. Give therefore thy servant *an understanding heart* to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and evil: for who is able to judge this thy so great a people." The request pleased the Lord, (to whom indeed he was indebted for the preparation of heart and answer of the tongue that led him to prefer it;) and he endued him with a spirit of wisdom and understanding unparalleled in the history of mankind. And forasmuch as he did not ask riches, honour, and length of days, these things the Lord graciously added to the boon; except that he made his duration of life contingent on his continuing to walk in the commandments of God. Solomon after this returned to Jerusalem, and there offered numerous sacrifices before the ark, and gave a magnificent banquet to all his servants.

An opportunity immediately occurred of making manifest the wisdom which God had bestowed upon him. Two women came to him for justice. They were both of them mothers of young infants, and slept in the same chamber together, each with her own child. The one woman complained, that the other had overlaid her child during the night, and that on discovering the accident, she had arisen softly and taken the complainant's child from her, whilst she slept, and substituted her dead child in its place. The woman accused stoutly contradicted the charge, alleging that the living child was hers; and there being no witness between them, it appeared impossible to come at the truth. Solomon however proposed, in order to satisfy the rival claimants, to have the surviving child cut in twain, and half to be given to each. The woman charged with the fraud readily consented to this proposal; but the other immediately yielded her claim, and prayed that the child might be given entire to her adversary, and its life spared. Then said the king, " Give *her* the living child, and in no wise slay it: she is the mother thereof." And all Israel heard of this decision, and was penetrated with awe and admiration at the wisdom of their king.

The next acts of Solomon were calculated to increase this reverential fear of him. Adonijah, the usurper, appears not to have altogether abandoned his designs upon the throne, but to have conspired secretly with Joab and Abiathar, by what measures he might still accomplish his purpose. By an artful representation to Bathsheba, he prevailed on her to solicit of Solomon for him in marriage a young and beautiful virgin, named Abishag, who had been David's concubine and nurse in his last days ; insinuating that the throne was his by right of primogeniture, and by the will of the people, however Solomon might allege that God had given it to him ; and the request of marriage with Abishag was put forward as a recompense, by an obvious implication, for what he now affected to yield. Solomon immediately perceived the snare, and that if he granted this petition it would prejudice his just title to the throne; he therefore commissioned Benaiah instantly to put Adonijah to death. Alarmed at the promptitude of Solomon, and conscious of guilt, Joab fled to Gibeon to the tabernacle for refuge, and caught hold of the horns of the altar. But Solomon had him dragged thence and slain ; and thus, though the Lord had long borne with him, the several murders which he had committed in cold blood were at length visited on his hoary head. The life of Abiathar, on account of his having borne the ark, and his former services to David, was spared ; but he was degraded from the priesthood and banished.

At the same time Solomon sent for Shimei, and desired him to confine himself to Jerusalem; warning him, that in the day that he should exceed his bounds he should be put to death. The fate of Shimei was thus for a while deferred; but about three years afterwards, having grown heedless and secure, he quitted Jerusalem and went to Gath, in pursuit of two runaway slaves; on being informed of which the king likewise put him to death.

[A.M. 2993, A.A.C. 1013.] And now having rooted out these evil doers from the city of the Lord; and likewise promoted to situations of chief power and confidence the persons, or their descendants, who had been the most attached and faithful followers of his father, Solomon began to build the temple.

It has already been stated that David purposed to erect such an edifice; but God forbad him, on the ground that he was a man of war, and his hands defiled with blood; promising, however, that his son should be permitted to perform it, who should be a man of peace. David was also permitted to prepare the materials for it; and God made him further promises respecting his family and posterity, couched in terms which show that they chiefly related to the Messiah.[1] The preparation made by David for this work affords some notion of the wealth of his people and himself at this period. From the public chest and from the spoils of war, he laid by 108,000 talents of gold, and 1,010,000 talents of silver; from his own private resources he gave 3000 talents of gold, and 7000 of silver; and the princes and rulers, cordially following his example, gave 5000 talents of gold and 10,000 of silver, with abundance of precious stones.[1] There were likewise accumulated large quantities of timber, iron, brass, marble, and other requisite materials. God gave to him a design also for the building, and for the instruments and vessels thereof, which David declares "that he made him understand in writing by his hand (or power) upon him." This was carefully delivered to Solomon; to whom the Lord also designated the site on which it was to be erected, which was Mount Moriah, a part of Zion, the identical spot where stood the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite; and where, about a thousand years previous, Abraham had offered up Isaac, and called the place *Jehovah-Jireh.*

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[1] Grotius and the commentators of his school, conclude them to have been all fulfilled in Solomon. But the words "I will raise up thy *seed* after thee *which shall be of thy sons*, and I will establish his kingdom," (1 Chron. xvii. 11,) could not relate to Solomon, since he was David's son immediately, and not "*of* his *sons*." They refer therefore to a more remote branch of David's posterity; agreeably with which he praises God for having spoken of his house "for a great while to come." Moreover the throne of this seed was to be established *for ever;* whereas Solomon's was rent and divided in the next reign.

We are equally at a loss for the actual form of this structure, as of the tabernacle, ignorant as we are of the ground plan and elevation given to David. The principal ædis or nave, which constituted more properly *the temple,* was 60 cubits in length, 20 in breadth, and 30 in height. From off this one third was separated for the oracle or holy of holies, which extended all across the building, but was only two-thirds of the height, forming in itself a cube of 20 cubits. The interior of the walls and roof were lined with cedar, richly carved with cherubim, palms and flowers, and covered with gold. The furniture was much the same as in the tabernacle, consisting of the ark, mercy-seat, table, vail and lamps; but within the holy place were likewise two cherubs made of olive-tree overlaid with gold, each ten cubits high, and measuring also ten cubits from tip to tip of their expanded wings, which touched each other and the walls at the same time, thus filling the whole width of the holy place. The building was more remarkable for its costliness than for its magnitude. In length, including the oracle, it could not have exceeded 110 English feet, nor in breadth 37 feet; which is not larger than a moderate sized parish church. But in the splendour and preciousness of its materials it was unrivalled. The walls, the roof, the pillars, the doors, the ornaments, the very floor, were covered with gold, presenting to the eye one mass of the pure and precious metal; whilst its external walls were of marble and other rare and costly stones. In front there was a porch, or rather tower, 20 cubits long, 10 broad, and 120 cubits, or about 220 English feet, in height. At each end of this porch were two pillars of burnished brass, 35 cubits high, and four cubits in diameter, with capitals of five cubits each; on the one of which was engraved the name *Jachin*, signifying *He shall establish it*, and on the other *Boaz*, or *it is strength*.[1]

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[1] In 1 Chron. xxii. 14, it is only 100,000 talents of gold, instead of 108,000 as in 2 Samuel; the latter perhaps includes the 3000 and 5000 from David himself and the nobles. Arbuthnot computes the gold at 534 millions sterling, and Prideaux the total at 800 millions!

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[1] It is not evident, from the description, whether these two remarkable pillars formed the two corners of a colonnade or portico, or stood alone, as was not unfrequently the case with ornamental entrances. Their height is also doubtful: for 1 Kings vii. has eighteen cubits, and 2 Chron. iii. has thirty-five cubits, which has led some to conclude, that the latter describes the height or length of the two pillars together. But besides the improbability that they should be so described, the architectural proportion of thirty-five cubits in height to a diameter of four cubits is far more likely to be correct than eighteen cubits. The Corinthian column is ten times its diameter; and the squattest forms of the Doric are not less in height than six times the diameter.

But there was likewise a considerable quantity of other building; consisting of numerous chambers for the accommodation of the priests on duty, and for the reception of the vessels, vestments, stores and treasures of the temple. These were built round about the temple, and from the mention of three tiers or stories of them, they were some of them apparently *over* the temple. There was a geometrical or winding staircase (probably constructed in the porch,) which led up to these chambers. There were also three spacious courts with walls of stone and gates of brass, and piazzas or cloisters of cedar round about. The furniture of these courts, as in those of the tabernacle, were of brass, consisting of the altar for burnt-sacrifice, and a sea or reservoir of brass, of much larger dimensions than the previous one, being ten cubits in diameter and five cubits deep, and supported by twelve oxen looking outward, three toward each point of the compass. There were likewise ten lavers of brass placed on pedestals of the like metal.

Such was the temple of Solomon. The reasons assigned for preventing David from building it, the fact that the design for it was given by immediate inspiration, and many of the circumstances connected with the building itself of this edifice, shew that a typical meaning was undoubtedly attached to it.[1]

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[1] Some of the circumstances shadowed forth by the tabernacle and temple appear obvious. The former was typical of the wilderness state of the church, when it was removed from station to station, and found at different times in different places—Jerusalem, Babylon, Antioch, Rome, &c.—the candlestick being removed in one place and set up in another. But the temple, being constructed of more durable materials, and laid upon a foundation, sets forth the future glorious state of the church on earth, when *stability* shall be its characteristic. The reigns also of David and Solomon are characteristic of the church in its militant state and in its state of rest and peace. (See 1 Chron. xxii. 8—10.)

[A.M. 3000. A.A.C. 1005.] This magnificent structure was completed in the eleventh year of Solomon, having occupied seven years in building; it was dedicated with extraordinary solemnity in the seventh month of the following year. All the princes and officers of the empire were again convened, and brought up the ark in procession. Twenty-two thousand oxen and one hundred and twenty thousand sheep were offered on the occasion in sacrifices and oblations, besides a multitude of other offerings. One hundred and twenty priests clothed in white garments stood at the east end of the altar blowing trumpets; a great company of Levites, similarly arrayed, stood with them, having musical instruments; and as all sounded together and praised the Lord, the house was filled with the Shechinah or bright cloud, the symbol of the divine presence, so that they were unable to stand and minister therein. An elevated platform of brass was erected for the king in the court of the temple,[1] from which he first addressed the people; and then kneeling down, and spreading forth his hands toward heaven, he offered up a touching and comprehensive prayer for himself and the nation; and concluded by standing up again and blessing the congregation, exhorting them likewise to walk with God. Soon as he had made an end, fire fell from heaven and consumed the sacrifices, and the glory of God again filled the house, so that the priests could not enter; whilst the congregation, filled with awe and holy reverence, fell with their faces to the ground and worshipped.

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[1] The reader may here be apprized, that in the scriptures the whole of the enclosure, including the courts, is called the temple and house of the Lord; but the principal building or nave, in which was the oracle, more especially bore the name of "the house," and "the sanctuary." All therefore that is related, as transacted in the temple by other than the priests, must necessarily be understood as taking place in "the courts of the Lord's house;" for none but the priests were allowed to enter into the temple itself, not even the king; and the high priest alone into the inner sanctuary or oracle. Larcher observes also of heathen temples, that the whole space enclosed in walls, forming courts, &c. was called *το ιερον*, whilst the temple itself was called *ναος*; and that this was rarely entered by any but the priests.

Besides the temple, Solomon erected numerous public buildings and cities, together with magazines and store-houses throughout the kingdom. During his reign also the commerce of the Israelites, which had previously been insignificant, grew to be very extensive and important. Hiram, the king of Tyre, who had been a steadfast friend of David, permitted his artificers to work with and instruct those of Solomon in the building of the temple; and now, by virtue of a treaty, whereby Solomon undertook to supply Hiram with grain, &c., the latter furnished him with experienced seamen and pilots, who instructed his subjects in the art of navigation. From Ophir and Tharshish or Tarshish, concerning the locality of which places the learned are much divided, were imported gold, silver, precious stones, ivory, spices, apes and peacocks; and from Egypt fine linen, yarn, carriages and horses. The quantity of gold alone, imported annually, amounted to 666 talents, besides the precious stones and silver, the gain by other traffic, and the sums paid by tributary powers. Silver became so plentiful that it was scarcely reckoned among the precious metals; and the sumptuous character of every thing connected with the state of Solomon may be inferred from the circumstance, that all the vessels for eating and drinking throughout his palaces, and the targets and shields of his body guard, were of solid wrought gold. The commerce appears to have consisted principally of imports; nothing at least is said of the exports; though doubtless the commodities brought back were paid for in gold or articles of merchandise. The tribe of Judah had manufactories of fine linen among them; and the descendants of Shelah, also Jews, were eminent for this fabric and for their potteries. (1 Chron. xv. 21—23.) But the pursuits of the Israelites in general, when not engaged in the military service, were pastoral and agricultural. They had large possessions in flocks and herds, and the land was cultivated up to the very summits of the hills, which were formed into terraces, or flat ledges, encircling the eminences one above the other; evident traces of which remain to the present day.

Twelve princes of chief rank in the nation provided in rotation for the household of Solomon, each for a month. The wealth and influence of some of the nobles may be estimated by the fact, that one of them alone (Geber, of Ramoth Gilead, a prince of Manasseh,) possessed all the towns of Jair, a former judge of Israel, and sixty large cities besides, in the region of Argob in Bashan. One day's provision for the king's household, at Jerusalem only, amounted to 30 measures of fine flour, and 60 of meal, 30 oxen, and 100 sheep, besides venison and poultry.

Persons from all the earth are recorded to have resorted to Solomon to hear his wisdom; who likewise brought him presents of gold and silver vessels, armour, horses, mules, and spices. How great his reputation had become is evident from Tacitus, who speaks of him under the name of the "illustrious" and "ancient Solymans," mentioned by Homer, though he treats the claims of the Jews to be of the same nation with contempt. (Hist. lib. v. c. 3.) The visit of the queen of Sheba is well known.

Thus far the kingdom of Solomon, and his own majesty and authority, were a remarkable type of the kingdom which is hereafter to be manifested by his archetype, the Messiah of the Jews. But types are not in any instance to be received as complete similitudes; they are commonly defective in something; and whatsoever therefore it might please God to exhibit to the church in this manner of the future order, subordination, wealth, peace and glory of the kingdom of the true Christ; yet must the whole be so placed before his children, as to warn them not to set their affections upon the riches and honors of *this* world; that these things are unable in themselves to produce happiness; and that man cannot, in his present fallen condition, make a proper use of them. Accordingly we discover much in the conduct of Solomon that betrayed him to be a very fallible representative of the true Anointed One, and to give occasion for the spiritually-minded in those days to look forward to and long for the reign of the real Prince of Peace and King of Righteousness. Contrary to the express command of God, he contracted marriage with various heathen princesses, as the daughters of the kings of Egypt, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Sidon, and others. In order to gratify these, he raised altars and high places to their national deities; propably induced in the first instance by that specious sophistry which has imposed on thousands, who have committed the error of marrying persons holding heretical opinions,—viz. that it was proper to leave them to the unmolested enjoyment of their own religion. It appears indeed unreasonable not to make some arrangement of the kind under such circumstances; the almost necessity for which only serves to shew more clearly the sinfulness and inexpediency of entering into such alliances at all. The natural consequence of them, in Solomon's case, was, that he could not avoid beholding at times the idolatrous rites offered to heathen idols by his wives; and thus was gradually seduced to offer incense in the high places,[1] and to bow down before Ashtaroth, Milcolm, Chemosh, and other deities. Equally contrary likewise to the laws by which he was bound to govern the kingdom was the excessive number of his wives and concubines; and his introduction of horses and swift beasts for military as well as civil purposes.

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[1] As the term "*high places*" frequently occurs in reference to the superstitions and idolatries into which the Hebrews fell, we may here inquire more particularly what they signify. In some instances, it is evident that eminences, and the summits of hills and rocks, and even the house tops, where sacrifice and incense were offered, are what is intended. (See Ezek. xxiv. 7. Zeph. i. 5. Jer. ii. 20, 23.) But it is likewise apparent, from other scriptures, that certain edifices are called "high places," which are said to be *built up,* and to be *broken down.* (See 2 Kings xxiii. 13; xvii. 9; xxi. 3.) The truth appears to be, that the heathen thought the loftier eminences the more ethereal; and the nearer they got to the material heavens, so much the more did they fancy that they approached the residence of their deities. Thus they not only offered incense upon the hills; but erected altars, pillars, and towers on those hills. And in towns where there was no ready access to such eminences, they nevertheless burnt incense on the house tops, and erected high places in the streets for that special purpose, generally at the head or end of the streets, (See Ezek. xvi. 24, 25, 31.) and also at the gates. (2 Kings xxiii. 8.) Altars erected to the true God were likewise called high places, when they were not in the place of God's special appointment, and also when in cities that were elevated; such being generally chosen from the natural leaning this way, or from the fact of God's having revealed himself on Mount Moriah and Sinai. Thus the altar which Samuel built to the Lord in Ramah is called "the high place." (1 Sam. vii. 17; ix. 12.) Gibeon is called also "the great high place," because the brazen altar was there; (1 Kings iii. 4.) and when the men of Kirjath Jearim fetched the ark from Bethshemesh, the apparent reason for their lodging it in the house of Abinadab is, that it was on a *hill.* (1 Sam. vii. 1.) There is a much greater obscurity in regard to what are called *groves* in the sacred writings. The primary meaning of them is obviously a plantation of trees; and in these also the heathen erected altars and images. (1 Kings xv. 13.) But these are likewise said to be *built,* as well as planted, (1 Kings xiv. 23.) and to be *set up;* (2 Kings xvii. 10.) and in 2 Kings xxiii. 6, a grove is said to be "brought out of the house of the Lord,"—that is, probably from its courts. (See the note also page 22.)

A prophet was now commissioned of God to denounce a woe against Solomon, which was to consist in the rending away of ten of the tribes in the days of his son; which tribes, it was declared, should be given to Jeroboam the son of Nebat, chief of the house of Ephraim, an officer of great talent whom Solomon had promoted. After this the reign of *peace* was pretty well concluded; for if a period of actual warfare did not terminate the days of Solomon, it was nevertheless one in which the tranquillity of the country was greatly interrupted, and himself harassed. Hadad, an Edomite, who, during a war of extermination waged by David in Idumea, had been carried an infant into Egypt, there grew up with feelings of deadly animosity against Israel; and having now returned to his own country, began to make predatory incursions into Solomon's dominions. Another foe, whom the Lord raised up against him, was Rezon, a Syrian chieftain, who had established himself in Damascus. During the whole period of Solomon's reign he had been hostile to Israel; and having latterly obtained the sovereignty of all Syria, he was become formidable. (1 Kings xi. 25.) It was probably against this adversary that Solomon took the field; for we have the record of his having actually besieged Hamath-Zobah, and prevailed against it; which is the only instance related of his being himself engaged in warfare. But that which most harassed and annoyed him was the prophecy concerning Jeroboam. Blinded by jealousy of his rival, he now, like Saul in the case of his father David, sought to frustrate the purpose of God by the destruction of his rival; but Jeroboam, being aware of his intention, fled to the king of Egypt, who afforded him protection.

It is probably the painful experience of Solomon, during the period of his declension, that is described by him in the book of Ecclesiastes. It bears internal evidence that he wrote it toward the conclusion of his reign; and it describes the devices of a heart, which having lost the peace and confidence in God, which arise from walking in the way of righteousness, endeavours to make up for it by the wretched substitutes afforded by the world. He tried the whole circle of pursuits and pleasures which captivate the natural man; nor was any one ever placed in circumstances which would allow him more effectually to put them to the test. Power and wealth and grandeur he possessed to an unprecedented degree; he indulged his taste for building and for public works; he planted woods, groves, orchards and vineyards; he procured singers and minstrels in abundance; he filled his harem with beautiful women; he made trial of literature and the arts. But nothing could satisfy: their character is summed up in the one word, which he inscribed upon them—VANITY: and the conclusion to which he was at length brought was, that there is nothing better than for a man to fear God and keep his commandments. (Eccles. xii. 13.) It is gratifying however to the pious mind to observe, that the fall of Solomon was thus overruled for his correction and instruction in righteousness; so that he obtained an increase of wisdom and riches of the more excellent kind.

One other incident marks him to have been but man, and his glory but as the flower of the field: he *died!* This event occurred in the fortieth year of his prosperous reign; and he was buried with great pomp in the city of David.

The literary powers and the learning of Solomon must have been as extensive as his wisdom and riches. He was a great naturalist, and left behind him treatises on quadrupeds, birds, fishes and reptiles. He likewise wrote a comprehensive work on botany, in which he treated of all plants, from the stately cedar to the hyssop on the wall. Like his father also, he was an excellent poet, and composed no less than one thousand and five different songs; but whether of a divine or merely profane character we know not; with the exception of the Canticles, or "Song of Songs," a work which not only affords a specimen of superior poetical talent, but must be viewed in the still more important character of a prophecy, as the Jews and the best commentators have always considered it. That it was an inspired production is evident from its having obtained a place in the canon of Hebrew scripture, and there received the sanction of our Lord. The Proverbs of Solomon is another work which has come down to us. They form an admirable treasury of maxims of piety, morality and prudence, and must be viewed in the same light of inspiration. Those which remain are not the one third part of what he wrote: the rest, together with his poems and works on natural history, are lost—we were about to write "*unfortunately* lost;" but God has doubtless better consulted for the higher interests of his church, by permitting them to disappear, than he would have done in preserving them: should they ever be needed, the same Providence that has hidden will reveal them.

It has been too hastily concluded that the promises to Abraham of a territorial character were accomplished to the full extent in Solomon's time; but certainly this was not the case. Philistia was not possessed in his days: he is only said to have reigned over all kings "from the river *unto* the land of the Philistines, and to the border of Egypt;" which mode of expression, if it excludes Egypt, must equally exclude Philistia. That there was peace with the Philistines, and that they might have brought presents, is all that can be said of them. We have seen likewise that the territories of the Sidonians and Tyrians, part of the grant to Abraham, were never in subjection to Solomon; but that a treaty of amity and commerce existed between him and Hiram their king, who held his dominions as a favoured ally of Israel. Syria also got into the hands of an enemy; and Idumea was evidently no more than tributary, or Hadad the Edomite could not have there enjoyed shelter and impunity. Others of the surrounding kings, whom Solomon is said to have reigned over, were in like manner only tributary; whereas, in order to fulfil the covenant to Abraham, the territory, which at a former opportunity has been described, is to be possessed and actually portioned among the seed of Abraham.

CHAPTER VI.

THE KINGDOM OF EPHRAIM, OR ISRAEL.

[A.A.C. 976.]—Up to the period of the death of Solomon, the history of Abraham's posterity flows in an even and unbroken stream; but a schism occurred immediately after, by which the integrity of the Hebrew empire was permanently destroyed, and two kingdoms were erected in its place.

Attention has already been drawn to a distinction, which should be kept continually in view; that, although it pleases God to overrule the principles and actions of evil men for the furtherance of his own designs, he does not therefore necessarily approve the men, whom he thus makes use of as his instruments. Often are they censured and manifestly punished, at the very time that God is accomplishing by their means the purposes of his own will, and employing them as a rod of correction to others; nor can it make any difference, as to the matter of fact, neither cast any just reflection on the righteousness of God's government, that he should condescend to predict the actions of such, or grant to them a measure of prosperity. Thus we shall find that Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, though selected as the instrument for effecting the schism just adverted to, and for humbling the family of Solomon, is nevertheless one who deserves and provokes punishment himself; and who proves also a stone of stumbling to the misguided people who select him as their leader.

Rehoboam, the heir of Solomon, no sooner ascended the throne, than he appointed a day for his coronation. The place fixed upon for the solemnity happened to be Shechem, in the territory of Ephraim, whither Jeroboam, who had heard in Egypt of the death of Solomon, had immediately repaired.

The scripture notices of this important crisis are brief and scattered, yet sufficient to enable us to draw conclusive inferences of the principles and conduct of Jeroboam. His chief partisans appear to have been the light-minded and profligate, (*sons of Belial*, as they are termed,) and he availed himself of the inexperience of Rehoboam to provoke a rupture. (2 Chron. xiii. 7.) But these things by no means constituted the only strength of the politic Ephraimite. The various circumstances which produced a jealousy in his tribe have before been noticed, (see page 141,) to which may now be added the present superiority of Judah,—their increasing numbers, the unrivalled splendour of Jerusalem, and the fact that the offices of honour and emolument had, since the monarchy commenced, been chiefly conferred upon the men of that tribe and of Benjamin. Jeroboam therefore might safely reckon upon his own tribe; and he appears likewise to have had his emissaries among the other tribes, who promoted disaffection: for men are easily brought to regard with envy those who enjoy a political ascendency or privileges not possessed by themselves. Nor was there wanting a pretext of grievances. The large subsidies required for the king's household, the extensive requisition of personal service, and the rigid subordination maintained by Solomon, would naturally be irksome to a people prone to rebellion and impatient of control.

On the day therefore of the coronation, Jeroboam, having stirred up the chiefs of the people, approached the king at their head, and demanded from him a mitigation of service; plausibly promising to submit themselves, provided that he acquiesced. The king desired three days to deliberate, during which interval the elders of his council advised: "If thou wilt be a *servant* unto this people this day, and wilt *serve them*, and answer them, and speak good words to them, then they will be thy servants for ever." The terms in which this advice was couched imply, that a measure of concession was demanded which appeared derogatory to the king; though there can be no doubt that had he yielded, he would have deprived the party of Rehoboam of all reasonable pretence. But the course which the king finally adopted, influenced by the rash counsel of youthful friends, was in the opposite extreme: instead of meeting the assembly, when the time was expired, in a conciliatory spirit, he treated them with roughness, and threatened to increase their yoke. Jeroboam therefore immediately raised the standard of revolt; Adoram, a chief officer of Rehoboam, was seized and stoned; the king sought safety for himself in flight; and the insurgents took Jeroboam and anointed and crowned him, instead of Rehoboam,—thus expelling from them the dynasty of David.

Immediately on the return of Rehoboam to Jerusalem, he called out the troops of Judah and Benjamin, which tribes continued faithful, and purposed to attack his adversary; but a prophet was commissioned to warn him that this defection was permitted of the Lord; in consequence of which he desisted from the enterprize, and Jeroboam found himself in undisturbed sovereignty over the revolted tribes.

From this period the ten tribes ever after formed a separate kingdom, who are sometimes called *Israel* and *Jacob*, from their great ancestor; sometimes *Ephraim*, from the seat of government being in the territory of that tribe; and at a later period *Samaria*, the name of the capital city afterwards erected in Ephraim. As Judah is likewise sometimes called Israel, it will avoid confusion to speak of the kingdom of the ten tribes always by the name of *Ephraim*, and first pursue its history to its termination.

JEROBOAM I.—The first act of Jeroboam was of an apostate character, and too plainly betrayed the principles by which he was in general influenced. The priests and Levites throughout Palestine inclined (as might have been expected) to Jerusalem, and resorted thither to minister in their course. Jealous of their influence, Jeroboam at once decided to expel from his dominions all of them who would not conform to his wishes; and ordaining in their stead priests of his own creation, who were not Levites, (contrary to the express ordinance of God,) he appointed them to offer incense in high places, and to sacrifice to devils. Aware also that the temple and worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem was still a point of attraction, and that numbers resorted to it from all the tribes to keep the feasts, and imbibed sentiments, by their intercourse with Judah, unfriendly to the stability of his throne, he caused two golden calves to be erected as deities, the one in the city of Dan and the other in Bethel, in the opposite confines of his territories, and instituted stated festivals in honour of them, as a counterpoise to the principal feasts of God's appointment. The immediate consequence of this step was a further defection from among the ten tribes; for not only did the Levites, for the most part, leave their cities and possessions, and settle in Judah, (a high-minded and disinterested proceeding, seeing that they abandoned thereby the tithes and offerings of the ten tribes,) but all that feared God, indignant and alarmed at the profane policy of Jeroboam, came out from among them and were separate, and likewise passed over to Rehoboam. The new empire was thus deprived at once of those who were as the salt of the earth to it; there was no bulwark to resist the natural proneness of the residue to fall into sin; and they were therefore precipitated at once into a state of irreligion, from which they never afterwards recovered, and drew upon themselves in the end a fearful but condign punishment.

The suddenness of the fall of Ephraim has no parallel since the days of Aaron, when all Israel equally turned aside to the worship of the calf;[1] and it cannot but excite surprise when it is considered, that only in the beginning of the previous reign the worship of God appeared to be established in great purity and glory, and with every prospect of its taking deep root in the affections of the entire people. The laxity of Solomon himself, toward the latter period of his reign, must indeed have had considerable influence with many, and blunted those feelings of just abhorrence, with which they were taught to behold idolatrous rites. But even this will not account for the readiness of the mass to cast off altogether the worship of Jehovah. The further cause must be traced, it is to be feared, to the force of political interests, which have ever been found to exercise a subtle but most powerful influence upon religion, and often in a direction contrary to its best interests. When once men are committed in a cause as partisans, (which was the case of the tribes in regard to Jeroboam,) they are ready to go almost to any lengths, and to compromise all consistency of religious principle, rather than abandon that policy or party which promises to minister to their selfishness or vanity.

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[1] It has already been noticed (see page 74) that Aaron's calf has been supposed by some to have been intended as a cherubic representation of the deity: the same thing has been concluded of Jeroboam's calves; whilst others have supposed that they were intended to represent the Apis or Serapis of the Egyptians. Baal however is called, in Tobit i. 5, "the *heifer* Baal;" and Jeroboam is accused in Holy Writ of sacrificing to *devils*. (2 Chron. xi. 15.)

Jeroboam fixed his own residence at Shechem; but Bethel he made the principal place of sacrifice, at which city a remarkable incident presently occurred. Whilst he was engaged in burning incense upon a magnificent altar which he had erected there, a prophet of Judah unexpectedly made his appearance, and denounced the wrath of God against the altar; declaring that a prince of the house of David should hereafter be born, and be called *Josiah*, (i. e. *the fire*, or zeal, *of the Lord*,) who should burn upon that altar the bones of those whom Jeroboam had made priests of the high places. As an earnest of the truth of his prediction he further declared, that the altar should immediately be rent. Jeroboam, exasperated at the boldness of the intruder, ordered him to be seized; when, lo! a further sign,—the sinews of his arm, outstretched toward the prophet, as he energetically commanded his apprehension, instantly withered and dried up, so that he could not draw the arm back again; whilst at the same instant the altar was rent in twain. The king was now humbled, and intreated of the prophet to intercede for him with Jehovah; which he accordingly did, and the arm was restored. Jeroboam then desired the prophet to come to his palace and refresh himself, and offered him a reward; but both were refused by the Jew, who declared that he was expressly charged to have no social intercourse with any of the city.[1]

[A.A.C. 957.]—The impression however upon Jeroboam was speedily effaced, and he continued his profane course with the same indifference as before. He had warfare with Judah throughout the reign of Rehoboam, the result of which is not recorded; but on Abijah succeeding to the throne of Judah, Jeroboam made war upon him with an army of eight hundred thousand men, and was signally defeated with the prodigious loss of half a million of his troops in killed,—the most extensive slaughter upon record. This happened in the nineteenth year of Jeroboam's reign, who never recovered from this blow, but died about three years afterwards, and was succeeded by Nadab, one of his sons.

NADAB. [A.A.C. 955.]—The reign and the record of Nadab are very brief. All that we know of his moral character is, that he was imbued with the profane principles of his father; and of the acts of his reign, that he laid siege to Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines; during which Baasha, a prince of the house of Issachar, assassinated him, and usurping the throne, exterminated every member of his family; thus fulfilling a prophecy which had been announced to Jeroboam a little before his death.

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[1] The prophet afterwards disobeyed this injunction, and was punished for his disobedience by the Lord; who, in the subsequent part of the history, evinces the same jealousy (as will be seen) of countenance being given to Ephraim, now that the tribes are become idolatrous.

BAASHA. [A.A.C. 953.]—The memorial of Baasha's reign (with the exception of one event, which will be related in the history of Judah,) is as brief as that of his predecessor. He followed in the same course of idolatry, and a prophet was therefore sent to announce a similar fate to his posterity, on account of this sin, and also for the murder of Nadab. He was nevertheless himself permitted to reign for a period of twenty-four years; when he died, and was succeeded by his son Elah.

ELAH. [A.A.C. 931.]—Elah to the sin of Jeroboam added drunkenness, a vice which was becoming very prevalent among the Ephraimites, who learned it of the surrounding nations.[1] Whilst indulging in his potations, he was slain, in the second year of his reign, by Zimri, one of the captains of his chariots; who then did by the rest of the family of Baasha, as the latter had done by the family of Jeroboam, and seized upon the reins of government.

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[1] The ultra zeal against *intemperance*, which has recently produced so many societies for its extinction, has endeavoured to show that drunkenness is but a modern vice; that it was scarcely known among the ancients; that their wine was not of an intoxicating quality; and that they lowered it with water in the proportion of from one-half to twenty times the quantity of wine. (See the Appendix to a Sermon by the Rev. S. D. Wayland, p. 21, in which are several quotations from the Greek and Latin poets in support of his hypothesis.) But however true this might have been in some instances among the Greeks and Latins, the case was very different with the Asiatics. Herodotus speaks of the profusion of wine drunk by the Persians; (Clio. Sect. 133,) and of the Scythians even, he says, that at a feast to which they were invited by Cyaxares and the Medes, the greater part were cut off while in a state of intoxication. (Ibid. s. 106.) The drawings from Egyptian sculptures given by Mr. Wilkinson (vol. ii. p. 167,

ZIMRI. [A.A.C. 930.]—Seven days saw the beginning and the termination of the reign of this usurper. The army was again engaged in the siege of Gibbethon; and as soon as the soldiers heard of the murder of Elah, they proclaimed Omri, the captain of the host, king. Then raising the siege they marched against Zimri; who, despairing of the result, set fire to his palace, and threw himself into the flames.

OMRI. [A.A.C. 930.]—The choice of the army was not generally approved, and a rival to Omri was set up, of whom we know nothing but the name, Tibni. For four years the kingdom was distracted by civil war; but at length the military faction prevailed and slew Tibni, after which Omri reigned undisturbed.

By him the city of Samaria was built, and called after Shemer, of whom he purchased the land. Omri exceeded in ungodliness all his predecessors, and died in the eleventh year of his reign.

&c.) show how common a vice drunkenness was among both sexes of that nation: women are represented on their public friezes as vomiting from the effects of drunkenness, and the men as carried home on the shoulders of others. And even among the Greeks, the Lacedæmonian faction at Thebes was overpowered by Pelopidas and slain, owing to the same vice; (Corn. Nep. vita Pelop.) whilst the intemperance of Alexander the Great and others were too notorious to require comment. We shall find frequent evidence of the prevalence of drunkenness in other people, as we pursue the Jewish history; and drunkenness could not have been common unless the liquors they drank had been of an intoxicating quality. The real fact is, that the drunkards of Ephraim, instead of lowering their wine with water, were in the habit of mingling it with "strong drink," and they boasted of their being mighty to bear it.

AHAB. [A.A.C. 919.]—Ahab, the son of Omri, succeeded him; to whom again belonged the sad pre-eminence of "doing evil above all that were before him." He married Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, or Ithobalus, a priest of the Sidonians, who having murdered the king of Sidon, had usurped the throne.[1] Jezebel proved herself worthy of such a parent, being rigidly addicted to idolatrous rites, and not hesitating to shed blood in order to gratify her ambition. Through her influence Ahab introduced into his kingdom the worship of Baal, to whom he erected a splendid temple in Samaria; whilst on the other hand he endeavoured carefully to suppress all remaining traces of the worship of Jehovah.

Four gradations may here be noticed of the progress of the nation, under the monarchy, into apostacy. The first was the burning of incense in the high places; which, though it was offered to the true God, was contrary to his appointed ordinances. This practice had been gradually gaining ground in Solomon's reign, though it had been discountenanced by David, who never resorted to it, even when he was painfully deprived of the means of grace. It appears to have been one of those plausible innovations which crept in under pretence of the alleged distance or inconvenience of the only lawful place; and imposed, by its show of piety, upon weak and unstable persons, who are unable to discern that the elements of apostacy exist in *all* cases of disobedience from God's ordinances. The second step was the introduction and worship of idols *in addition* to that of the true God, which was more particularly Solomon's offence. The third was the setting up of idols and of ordinances to compete with those of Jehovah, and with the express view of diverting the people from Jerusalem; at the same time that the worship of God was tolerated in those, who chose to perform it in their own cities, or on high places: this was Jeroboam's sin. The climax was the more formal supplanting of the worship of God by idols, with the intent altogether to abolish it; and the persecution of those who continued to be faithful to Jehovah. This was reserved for Ahab and Jezebel.

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[1] See Menander, the ancient Tyrian historian, (quoted by Josephus, cont. App. i. 18,) according to whom it would appear that Jezebel was the grand aunt of Dido, the celebrated queen of Carthage. He states that Carthage was founded just 143 years and eight months from the building of Solomon's temple.

The mass of the nation conformed without hesitation to the worship of Baal. Some few remained who still refused to bow to any other than Jehovah; but these were either obliged to seek shelter from the storm in caves and retired places, or to suppress and conceal their sentiments at home.

God however did not leave himself without a public witness, nor the nation without chastisement, but raised up an intrepid and devoted prophet to admonish both the king and the people of their sins. This was Elijah of Tishbeh in Gilead, whose first commission was to intimate to the nation, that the Lord purposed to scourge it by a drought, the continuance of which was to be at the bidding of the prophet: having declared which, he hid himself for safety, and to watch the effect of God's controversy with the people. Great was the famine and distress experienced through a protracted drought of three successive years; and great the exasperation against Elijah, who was viewed as the author of the nation's calamity,—the common lot of those who foretel judgment as the penalty of sin.

About the middle of the fourth year of famine, the confidence of the nation in Baal began to be shaken, and Elijah now received a commission to show himself to Ahab. The prophet required of the king, that he should convene the whole nation to Mount Carmel, together with the prophets and priests of Baal; and Ahab, having learnt by painful experience, that his word was not to be despised, complied. Elijah appeared at the assembly, and in order to put the rival claims of Jehovah and Baal to a public test proposed, that the prophets of Baal, 450 in number, should take a bullock and prepare it for sacrifice, but put no fire under it; and that he, Elijah, would singly do the same to another bullock; that both parties should then call upon their god, and whichsoever answered by fire should be accounted as the true God. The challenge was accepted; and the false prophets, having quickly prepared their bullock, called upon Baal from morning till noon without success. Elijah now attacked them with a piercing satire, which excited them to phrensy;—they screamed aloud, leaping upon the altar, cut themselves with knives and lancets, in the vain hope that the blood which gushed from their own veins might propitiate and arouse their deity: but the hour of evening sacrifice nevertheless approached, and still no one regarded them. It was now the turn of Elijah. Short was the interval remaining; but with the calmness which confidence inspires he called to him the people, and having with their aid repaired a dilapidated altar of Jehovah, and dug a trench around it, he placed the wood and the sacrifice thereon. He next directed the people to pour water on it, which was repeated until the wood was rendered unfit for kindling, and the trench around the altar filled. Elijah then offered a short but effectual prayer to God, when fire came down from heaven and consumed the sacrifice, and the very stones of the altar itself. The people, struck with awe, fell on their faces, and acknowledged Jehovah to be God; and then, at the command of Elijah, slew the prophets of Baal: after which, God again listened to the prayer of his servant, and sent an abundance of rain. Jezebel, however, on being informed by her husband of the striking events of the day, breathed forth vengeance against Elijah; who thereupon fled, and again concealed himself.

Jehovah, being at length honoured by the restoration of his worship for awhile, also honoured this short respite from idolatry, by granting to the nation a political deliverance of a no less extraordinary character. Benhadad, king of Syria, made certain arrogant demands of Ahab; which being refused, he invaded the land, with the combined forces of thirty vassal princes. While he was approaching Samaria, the Lord sent a prophet to Ahab to assure him that the whole multitude should be delivered into his hand. The force which Ahab had to oppose to this vast multitude was only 7000 men, and God directed that of these he should take only the younger princes and chieftains, amounting to no more than 232 persons; assuring him, that with these alone the deliverance of Israel should be accomplished: and it is but just to the character of Ahab to observe, that in this instance he obediently followed the divine command. Benhadad and his princes were also addicted to the prevailing vice; and whilst all were in a state of inebriety in the royal pavilion, they were informed that a small band of men was seen issuing forth from Samaria. With the insolence inspired by intoxication and superior numbers, the king ordered them to be brought before him alive; but the Israelites, on the approach of his troops, slew each his man, when the rest turned and precipitately fled, and a complete overthrow ensued.

In the following year the king of Syria again took the field, at the head of as great a multitude as before. But a prophet was again sent to Ahab, who announced that God was jealous for the honour of his name; and because the Syrians had said, that he was not the God of the plains, (to which they now purposed to confine their warfare,) therefore Israel should have another proof of him. At the end of a week the Syrians attacked, when Ephraim slew of them a hundred thousand in one day. The rest fled to Aphek, the walls of which, from some cause not related, fell down and slew 27,000 more.

The Hebrews had acquired a superior character for clemency among the surrounding nations; reminded of which, Benhadad sent a deputation of nobles, clothed with sackcloth and with ropes round their necks, to deprecate the wrath and excite the commiseration of Ahab. The fact is worthy of remark, first, as evincing that the influence of a beneficent religion continues to modify the national character of a people, for some time after they have ceased to recognise the source whence they have derived what is humane and honourable among them; and, secondly, as affording decided proof that the Mosaical law did not promote a merciless and ferocious spirit. Benhadad was not deceived as to the result of this appeal: Ahab immediately sent for him and received him as a brother, and satisfied himself with stipulating that the cities wrested from Israel should be restored. In this instance however of clemency, he acted in the same spirit of disobedience that Saul had betrayed in sparing Agag; for God had in like manner commanded an utter destruction on Benhadad.

Nor did Ahab profit by the recent signal interpositions of Jehovah. The prophets of Baal were destroyed; but no further attempt was made to reform the existing abuses both in religion and justice. To his other offences he next added one, which outraged the last remains of piety and patriotism in his subjects. This was the murder of Naboth, an Israelite of the old school, who had too much virtue to violate the law of inheritance, by disposing of a vineyard to Ahab, which the king coveted on account of its contiguity to his palace. The affair was indeed managed by Jezebel, who found in the elders of Jezreel instruments sufficiently compliant to condemn Naboth upon a false charge of treason and blasphemy, and to put him to death, and all his sons, that no legal claimant might remain. (2 Kings ix. 26,)

Ahab however, on proceeding to take possession of his newly-acquired property, met with an unwelcome intruder in the vineyard; no other than the prophet Elijah, whom God had sent forth from his hiding-place to announce to the king the punishment he had provoked. He declared to him that dogs should lick the blood of the king in the very place where they had licked Naboth's blood; that Jezebel should be devoured by dogs by the wall of Jezreel, where the vineyard of Naboth was situate; and that all the male descendants of Ahab should be violently cut off. The king was seized with terror, and immediately humbled himself before God with fasting and other acts of humiliation. This was at least better than heedlessness or defiance; and the Lord therefore so far remitted the sentence, as to defer the evil on his posterity till after his death.

The prediction, as it concerned Ahab personally, was speedily accomplished. The city of Ramoth Gilead still remained in the hands of the Syrians; but Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, coming on a visit of friendship to the court of Ahab, the latter availed himself of the opportunity to propose to the king of Judah to unite their forces and besiege it. The fact that Jehoshaphat, who was a pious king, was rebuked for his alliance with Ahab, and for the countenance which he afforded him by his presence, demonstrates but too plainly, that the latter had fallen again into his idolatrous practices; which is confirmed by the circumstance that he was on this occasion surrounded by false prophets. By these he was infatuated to undertake the siege, contrary to the warning of a true prophet of God; and though he entered into the battle in disguise, he was pierced by a random arrow, and died at evening. And his chariot being removed to a pool in Naboth's vineyard for the purpose of being washed, the dogs came about it and licked up the blood which had flowed into it from his wound. Thus fell, after a reign of 22 years, the weakest and the most wicked of the kings of Ephraim.

AHAZIAH. [A.A.C. 897.]—Under the pernicious influence of his mother, the son and successor of Ahab continued in the idolatrous course pursued by his father; and the term of his sovereignty, which comprehended only two years, was distinguished by rebellion against God and by disaster. Perceiving his weakness, the Moabites, who had been reduced to the condition of a tributary state, shook off the yoke; soon after which Ahaziah fell from the window of his chamber, from the effects of which he died.

JEHORAM. [A.A.C. 895.]—Ahaziah dying childless was succeeded by his brother Jehoram, or Joram; who put away the idol Baal, but retained his prophets, and likewise the calves set up by Jeroboam.

In order to reduce again the Moabites, he formed an alliance with the kings of Judah and Edom, and all three took the field in person; but the combined forces were brought into great distress from the want of water, and were closely pressed by the enemy. Elijah had now been honoured by a translation to heaven without seeing death, and was succeeded by Elisha, a prophet equally eminent. To him the three kings repaired, at the suggestion of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and sought the counsel of the Lord at his mouth; who having sternly rebuked Jehoram, declared nevertheless, that out of condescension to the king of Judah, God would grant them a deliverance. The Moabites were consequently deceived by the Lord into a snare, and overthrown by the confederate kings, who afterwards destroyed their cities and laid waste their lands; whilst the king of Moab himself wound up the catastrophe, by offering up his son and heir to the throne as a burnt-offering, in the vain hope of averting the impending calamity.[1]

There was much during the remainder of Joram's reign, which was calculated both to warn and to awaken the nation. The college of prophets, over which Elisha presided, had so increased in number, that it was found requisite to remove it from Gilgal, and to build one more commodious on the banks of the Jordan. The members of this institution were occasionally sent forth on special missions; and by means of their constant protest against the prevailing idolatry, God made use of them to gather out his election from Ephraim; but no visible impression was made by them upon the nation in general. An event which occurred at this time serves to illustrate both these facts. Naaman, the captain-general and favourite of the king of Syria, was afflicted with an incurable leprosy; but being assured by an Israelitish damsel, whom he had taken captive, that Elisha was able to heal him, (a proof that the labours of the prophet were not altogether vain,) the king of Syria sent him with considerable presents to Jehoram for that purpose. Jehoram however and his court considered the whole proceeding as a pretext to create a quarrel, by demanding impossibilities; an equal proof of the ignorance and unbelief of the rulers of Israel. Elisha however heard of the circumstance, and desired that Naaman might be sent to him, declaring that the honour of Jehovah should be vindicated; and the result was that Naaman departed, not only healed in body, but converted in heart, and resolved to worship no other than the God of Israel.

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[1] See the Note, on page 100.

Notwithstanding the cure of his favourite, the king of Syria continued his hostile incursions; though his plans were constantly frustrated by Elisha. At length however (being permitted of God, for the further chastisement of his people,) he invested Samaria with a numerous army, and laid siege to it. To such great straits were the inhabitants reduced on this occasion from the want of provision, that an ass's head sold for eighty pieces of silver; and some resorted to the horrible expedient of devouring their own children. The king put on the exterior signs of humiliation, but was not humbled in heart; for breaking out into a rage against Elisha, as if he were the author of the calamity, he despatched a messenger to take off his head. The prophet avoided the mischief; but at the same time sent word that there would be abundance in Samaria on the following day; a message which was received by some with unbelieving derision. It happened however that without the gates of Samaria were four men thrust forth as lepers, who, being in a state of starvation, had resolved to pass over to the enemy that same night. They rose up therefore and proceeded at midnight to the enemy's camp; but were amazed on their arrival to find it deserted. For the Lord had caused a noise after dark, which the Syrians mistook for the approach of a host; and concluding that they were surprised by a fresh army of hired forces, they fled, leaving the road to the Jordan strewed with garments and vessels. Thus was the city marvellously delivered, and the words of the prophet accomplished.

But though the Lord in mercy had saved Ephraim from being humbled under the hand of a foreign enemy, he nevertheless continued to scourge the nation, and brought a famine upon the whole land, which continued for seven years. This also failed in humbling the hearts of Jehoram and his people; and God therefore now prepared to execute the judgments against the house of Ahab threatened by Elijah.

Jehoram having received a wound from the Syrians in an engagement under the walls of Ramoth, of which city the Israelites were at length masters, retired to Jezreel for a cure, leaving Jehu his captain in command. During this temporary absence of the king, a messenger came to Jehu from Elisha the prophet, who abruptly anointing him with oil declared him king, and then fled away before Jehu could recover from his surprise. Jehu was possessed of a daring courage and impetuosity which rendered him a favourite with the army; and no sooner did he declare to them the purport of Elisha's message, than they arose as one man and proclaimed him king. With the promptitude and energy belonging to his character, he immediately determined on taking Joram by surprise; and issuing strict orders that no person should be permitted to leave the city of Ramoth, he departed in his chariot with a company of troops, and drove furiously for Jezreel. His approach was descried from the walls; and the messengers, sent out to ascertain the object of his coming, falling one after another into his escort, Jehoram concluded that some matter of special importance must have induced Jehu to quit Ramoth, and went forth to meet him in his chariot, accompanied in another chariot by Ahaziah, the youthful king of Judah, who had just married into the family of Ahab, and was come to Jezreel to visit his cousin. Jehoram was shot through the heart by Jehu with an arrow; and his body unceremoniously cast aside into the identical plot that had been Naboth's, and where God had declared that he would requite Ahab. Jehu rode on immediately after into Jezreel, where Jezebel, who had received intimation of what was transpiring by the flight of Ahaziah and the attendants of Jehoram, accosted him from a window as he entered the city, and reminded him of the fate of the usurper Zimri. Jehu called to her attendants to throw her down ; on which the eunuchs of her own chamber precipitated her at once from the window, and she was trampled to death by the party of Jehu, who passed on without further delay in pursuit of the king of Judah. Ahaziah succeeded in escaping to Megiddo, but not without a mortal wound, of which he soon after died, thus paying a severe penalty for his intermarriage with the abandoned family of Ahab. On Jehu's return into Jezreel, he sent persons to take up the corpse of the queen, that she might be buried suitably to her rank ; but they found it torn and devoured by dogs, which in the east prowl in multitudes about the towns.

This remarkable fulfilment of the prediction of Elijah did not pass unnoticed by Jehu and his troops. The remaining prediction, concerning the posterity of Ahab was as speedily accomplished. His sons, to the number of seventy, were under the protection and tutelage of the governors of Samaria ; to whom Jehu wrote, admonishing them to put themselves upon the defensive and fight for them ; but they, filled with terror, signified their submission to Jehu, and at his bidding they decapitated the whole seventy, and brought their heads in baskets to Jezreel. At the same juncture the relatives of Ahaziah, ignorant of what had taken place, were met by Jehu on their way to visit Jehoram, and were likewise put to death. The rest of the kindred and male connexions of Ahab were hunted out and slaughtered in like manner ; and many of the nobility, who were judged to be attached to his interests, met with a similar fate. Thus speedily was his dynasty put an end to, and all possibility of its restoration destroyed.

JEHU. [A.A.C. 883.]—As soon as Jehu found himself established in the throne, he resolved upon the extermination of the followers of Baal. To this end he feigned to be after all a worshipper of the idol, and proposed to signalize his elevation to the throne by a great sacrifice to him. He convened therefore his worshippers to the festival on a day appointed, under the penalty of death; and required of themselves, when assembled, to make diligent search and reject from among them all who might be suspected of being secretly worshippers of Jehovah. The scrutiny accomplished, he next ordered vestments to be brought forth and put upon the worshippers of Baal, in order that they might be more readily distinguished; and while they were engaged in offering the burnt-offering, the soldiers rushed in upon them and put them all to the sword. Jehu then commanded the images of Baal to be every where burnt, and demolished his temple, excepting certain portions of it, which were converted into a public receptacle of filth; and thus was this vile and demoralizing superstition a second time destroyed out of Israel, just at the moment when the followers thereof were exulting in the hope that they were about to enjoy a greater influence.[1]

But the heart of Jehu was nevertheless not right with God; and he differed but little in spirit from the first king of Ephraim. Jeroboam, through political expediency, set up an idolatrous worship; proceeding upon the principle that the people must have some sort of religion, and he cared not what, so that he could prevent them from looking toward Jerusalem: Jehu, on the other hand, pulled an idolatrous worship down; having sufficient discernment to perceive that it was absurd and injurious to the state: but it was equally from a carnal policy that he acted; and the same principle induced him to retain the sin of his predecessor. He made his account in turning reformer; and hoped by his zeal against Baal and the house of Ahab to have his own dynasty established; but he had no real intention of walking with God, or of putting away those abominations which were likely to prove politically useful to himself. It is however worthy of remark, that God, whilst he punishes the delinquencies of those in power with the rod of jealousy, mercifully rewards what is good in them, and useful to his church, notwithstanding their motives and principles. On account therefore of the transgressions of Jehu he suffered Hazael the king of Syria to overrun his dominions, capturing his cities and filling his plains with blood, even to the end of his days; whilst yet, on account of his obedience and zeal in things which had been specially commanded him, he promised that his children for four generations should succeed him on the throne.

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[1] The whole has been viewed as a type of the ultimate fate of the apostate power mentioned in the New Testament, which having received a great destruction shall again rally, and be destroyed in the hour of its recovered ascendency; the true worshippers of God being signally delivered.

JEHOAHAZ. [A.A.C. 855.]—We know little of Jehoahaz, the son and successor of Jehu, beyond the facts that he did evil in the sight of the Lord, and persisted in the sins of Jeroboam; in consequence of which the Syrians, under Hazael, the merciless and implacable foe of Israel, were still permitted to waste and destroy the land, and to reduce them to a state of bondage more grievous than had been experienced since the times of the Judges. It had however the effect, though the good impression was temporary, of inducing them to return from their idols and cry unto God for assistance; who compassionated them, as he was wont to do, and delivered them out of the hand of the oppressor. The kingdom was nevertheless so weakened that the entire military force now consisted of only fifty cavalry, ten chariots, and about ten thousand infantry.

JEHOASH. [A.A.C. 839.]—After a reign of seventeen years, Jehoahaz was succeeded by his son, Jehoash, or Joash. It is to the credit of this prince, that he appeared to cherish a filial reverence and affection for Elisha the prophet; who was far advanced in years, and about to die, when Joash came to the crown. The king went personally to see him, and wept tenderly over him: nor was this tribute of respect and kindness to a prophet, because he was a prophet, without its reward. According to the prediction of Elisha at this time, he defeated the Syrians in three several engagements, and recovered out of their hands most of the cities wrested from his two predecessors. He likewise waged a successful war against Amaziah king of Judah, the particulars of which will be noticed in the following chapter.

The deplorable part of his history remains and may be shortly told: he also did evil, and continued in the apostacy of the kings of Ephraim; and God at length chastised him by the bands of Syria and Moab to the end of his reign, a period of sixteen years; when he was succeeded by his son Jeroboam.

JEROBOAM II. [A.A.C. 823.]—The early part of the reign of Jeroboam was like the latter part of his father's, distinguished for the distress and perplexity brought upon the nation. God still endeavoured, by chastening them, to wean them from their idolatries. The incursions of their enemies became more frequent and more daring; and the land was again visited with drought, accompanied by mildew, which brought famine and pestilence in their train. The Lord was likewise pitiful and forbearing toward them: he gave them intervals of respite; sometimes, though delivered to the sword, he plucked them as a brand from the burning; and he raised up numerous other prophets (among the most distinguished of which were Joel, Amos and Hosea) who testified of the national sins, and announced the approaching wrath. But all proved fruitless: from those prophets we learn that they still went after other gods; whilst oppression of the poor, bribery in the courts of justice, stealing, adultery, lying, drunkenness, murder and persecution of the righteous, prevailed to an awful extent. In vain were they smitten; they received no correction: in vain did the Lord vouchsafe occasional deliverances and mercies; they would not be won. At length came forth an awful sentence through the prophet Hosea—"Ephraim is joined to idols: *let him alone.*" From this time they were abandoned of God to fill up the measure of their iniquity, and to fall never to rise again. The instances of divine interference are henceforward only for the vindication of the divine glory, and for the rescue of the remnant according to the election of grace: as regarded the nation at large, their gleams of prosperity and brief intervals of deliverance and rest were but as snares, which led to political infatuation and to greater domestic profligacy. Sensuality and luxury increased; their rich men passed their time on couches of ivory, being sumptuously clad and perfumed with precious ointment, and drinking wine from superb vessels to the sound of music; not believing that a visitation was at hand. For a captivity was declared beyond Damascus, to be effected at two periods; and they were denounced as among the first that should be carried away, who, when called by the prophet to national humiliation, abandoned themselves so much the more to feasting and carousing. (Isaiah xxii. 12, &c.)

ZECHARIAH. [A.A.C. 771.]—Jeroboam II. reigned about forty years, and died, leaving his kingdom in great disorder. An interregnum or regency is supposed to have occurred during an interval of eleven years afterwards,[1] at the end of which Zechariah his son was made king. But he reigned only six months, when one Shallum conspired against him and usurped his throne; the dynasty of Jehu thus terminating with his fourth descendant, according as foretold.

SHALLUM. [A.A.C. 770.]—The fact that Shallum obtained the throne by treason and murder prepares us to expect no deviation in him from the same evil path which the previous kings of Ephraim had pursued. Retribution in kind overtook him within the first month of his dangerous elevation, one Menahem assassinating him, and reigning in his stead.

MENAHEM. [A.A.C. 770.]—Menahem proved a tyrant; the scourge usually inflicted in the end upon a people indulging in rebellion and anarchy. As he passed from Tirzah to Samaria, he attacked the cities which had not favoured his cause, destroying the men, and treating the women with horrid barbarity. He next made a treaty with Pul, the king of Assyria, who had invaded him; the basis of which was, that he was annually to pay to that monarch 1000 talents of silver; in return for which Pul was to establish and protect him in the kingdom. To obtain the money, Menahem laid a heavy impost upon the nobles and wealthy men, and rigorously exacted it. Nothing is related of him besides these two arbitrary and tyrannical acts; and that he died without violence at the end of ten years, his son Pekahiah reigning in his stead.

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[1] See the Appendix to Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, vol. i. p. 325.

PEKAHIAH. [A.A.C. 759.]—The spirit of disaffection, which had only been repressed by the ferocity of the father, aided by his Assyrian ally, burst forth immediately on the accession of the son; when Pekah, the son of Remaliah, an officer of his army, headed a conspiracy against him, in which Pekahiah was slain, after a reign of two years.

PEKAH. [A.A.C. 757.]—The new king, besides continuing the same idolatrous and superstitious course, greatly offended by his conduct toward Judah. Moved by envy and resentment, he formed an unprincipled alliance with Rezin the king of Syria, for the purpose of destroying Judah. Whilst the one ravaged Judea on the east, the other invaded it on the west, butchered an immense number of the choicest troops of Judah, and pressed hard upon Jerusalem to take it. They were prevented however by the signal interposition of God; upon which Pekah withdrew to Samaria, taking with him 200,000 women and children captives, and an immense booty, collected from the conquered cities. But though the Lord had given Judah thus far into his hand, on account of their great transgression also at this time, and the iniquity of Ahaz their king, he nevertheless sent a prophet to reprove the vindictiveness of Ephraim, and to announce the divine displeasure for reducing their brethren to slavery.

The effect of this remonstrance was remarkable, and forms almost a solitary instance of good conduct in the history of this people. The prophet delivered his message before the troops, as they were about to enter Samaria with the captives; upon which four of the princes of Samaria rose up and remonstrated with the officers of the army, declaring that they should not bring the prisoners into the city. The result was, that the military finally left the captives and the spoil at the disposal of the princes and the assembled multitude of Samaria, who took and clothed such as needed it from the spoil, anointed them with oil, and setting the feeble upon asses, conducted the whole to Jericho.

Well would it have been for Ephraim had this refreshing incident been followed by a more general repentance, and a return to the worship of Jehovah. But a solitary impulse to do right is no evidence in nations, any more than in individuals, of the existence of the spirit of righteousness; and the nation, in all other respects, continued unaltered. God now therefore began to execute his final judgments upon them. Tiglath Pileser, who had succeeded to the empire of Assyria, invaded the fairest provinces of Ephraim,—Gilead, Galilee, and Naphtali; and having captured the cities thereof, he colonized them with his own people, and transported the inhabitants into Assyria. From this period, somewhere between the years 741 and 738 before Christ, the captivity of

Israel, which was accomplished at different times, may date its commencement.[1]

Pekah, having reigned twenty years, at length fell in his turn by assassination.

HOSHEA. [A.A.C. 738.]—Another interregnum of nine years duration took place after the death of Pekah; which probably was a period of anarchy and civil strife, in which Hoshea, who was the murderer of the preceding king, was wading his way to the throne. He attained not the sovereignty until A.A.C. 730,[2] and retained it only about nine years; being the nineteenth and last of the kings of Ephraim.

He was no sooner seated in the throne than he abandoned himself to the profligacy and sensuality which now pervaded the nation; but his guilty eminence was neither agreeable, nor of long duration. His territory was speedily invaded by the Assyrians under Shalmaneser, to whom Hoshea submitted and paid tribute; but entering afterwards into a secret alliance with the king of Egypt, under whose powerful protection he concluded himself secure, (though warned by the prophets to the contrary,) he discontinued the annual tribute. Upon this Shalmaneser contrived to seize his person, and threw him into chains. The Assyrians then again invaded the land, and besieged Samaria, which, after a resolute defence of three years, surrendered. This took place in the ninth year after Hoshea had ascended the throne; and it was the last contention which the Lord had with Ephraim in their own land. For the Assyrian, as before, transported them from Palestine, and located them in remote places of his own dominions.[1]

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[1] Most writers place this captivity somewhere between A.A.C. 748 and 738. I have ventured to say 741, instead of 748; because it certainly did not take place till after Pekah had invaded Ahaz king of Judah; and Ahaz did not ascend the throne till A.A.C. 741.

[2] See Clinton's Appendix, as before.

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[1] As the latter history of the kingdoms of Ephraim and Judah bring us into contact with the empires of Assyria and Babylonia, which are often in various particulars confounded one with the other, a brief notice of them in this place may prove useful.

The empire of Babylonia or Shinar is considered to have been the earliest of the two. We have undoubted authority for stating that it was founded by Nimrod; and to have extended, at a very remote period, northward from Babylon over Calneh (*Ctesiphon,*) as far as Accad (*Nisibis*) and Erech (*Edessa.*) Gen. x. 10. Nothing more however is known of it until the year before Christ 2233, the highest point to which authentic profane history carries us, at which period an army of Medes occupied Babylon. (Clinton's Fasti Hellen.) This was about one hundred years before the time of Abraham. Three dynasties of Median, Arabian, and Chaldean kings succeeded, down to A.A.C. 1237, when the *Ancient* empire may be said to have ended. (See Cory's Anc. Fragments.)

In the mean while, the Assyrian monarchy had been growing up, and appears to have extended itself over Babylonia at this period, viz. A.A.C. 1237. The date of its commencement is uncertain. Some suppose that Nimrod removed his government thither at the overthrow of Babel, and that it was therefore identical with the Babylonian empire in the first instance; but we have again infallible authority for assigning its foundation to *Assur* or *Ashur,* the second son of Shem; from whom the term *Assyrian* is evidently derived. (Gen. x. 11. Psalm lxxxiii. 8.) It was first established in the territory marked in D'Anville as Adiabene, lying between the Tigris and the southern extremity of the Caspian sea. Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah (or *Halah,* 1 Chron. v. 25,) and especially Resen, are mentioned by Moses as its principal cities. (Gen. x. 11, 12.) It is pretty generally agreed that the *Ancient* empire of Assyria ended with the effeminate Thonus Concolerus, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, when the Medes under Arbaces shook off the yoke.

Arbaces did not become the sovereign of Assyria; and after his death a considerable period of anarchy followed in Babylonia, during which a new dynasty arose in Assyria, which again became so powerful, that at length Sennacherib, about 720 A.A.C. (or 713, according to others,) re-conquered Media and took Babylon, which established the second Assyrian empire. Pul, who is the Phulus of profane historians, (Euseb. Arm. Chron. 39.) Tiglath Pileser, and Shalmaneser, were the immediate predecessors of Sennacherib. And Saracus was the last of this dynasty, whose captain-general, Nabopolassar, rebelled against him, and destroyed Nineveh, in which Saracus perished. This terminated the second Assyrian empire, about A.A.C. 606, as appears both from the scriptures and Herodotus. The son, and immediate successor of Nabopolassar was Nebuchadnezzar, who pushed his

Thus terminated the kingdom erected by the ten tribes; the annals of which exhibit altogether a striking and most instructive picture. It was commenced in a spirit of jealousy, ambition, schism and apostacy; and though the rebellion or revolution which matured it was in human estimation successful, it was nevertheless offensive to Almighty God, who, by his prophet declares, that he "gave them a king in his anger, and took him away in his wrath:" (Hos. xiii. 11.) the success of the conspiracy being permitted of God, as a gin and a trap to the nation, by which they were ensnared and involved in the bitter consequences of their own principles. During the two and a half centuries that the kingdom continued, it was cursed with a succession of profane and unprincipled kings;—"not one of them called unto

conquests over Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Arabia. (See Berosus, in Eusebius.)

In the scriptures the Chaldee-Assyrian empire thus constituted is still called Assyrian, (2 Kings xxiii. 29.) and so also in some of the Greek writers; (see Xenophon's Cyropæd.) and with evident propriety: for they were still an Assyrian line of kings, only the seat of government was now transferred to Babylon. But at a later period the Persians, who had become powerful during the Median anarchy, prevailed so greatly under Cyrus, that they finally concentrated in themselves the empire of the world.

But there are great discrepancies in profane historians, not only in the dates of the events just glanced at, but also in regard to the chief actors in them. Both Thonus and Saracus have been called Sardanapalus; the actions and conquests of Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadnezzar are confounded; and the revival of the Assyrian empire has been severally ascribed to Salmaneser, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, who are each supposed to be the Nabonassar of profane history. And the fact that Salmaneser is said to have located the Israelites, whom he took away captive, in *cities of the Medes* (2 Kings xvii. 6 and xviii. 11.) falls best in with the opinion of those who consider that monarch to have subdued the Medes; at the least a portion of their territory must have been in the power of the Assyrians previous to the time of Sennacherib; and it became the policy of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings to colonize the countries which they conquered, by planting the people of one subdued region in another.

God;" (Hos. vii. 7.) whilst these princes themselves were scourged by continual conspiracies or invasions. The throne, reared up in the first instance by a spirit of faction against the house of David, was afterwards repeatedly shaken by factions among themselves. The entire reigns of their kings, deducting the two periods of interregnum, scarcely exceed an average of twelve years each; the reigns of seven of them did not amount to two years each; and among the whole nineteen princes there were no less than eleven different dynasties; each one hurling down its predecessor by violence and bloodshed. The downfall of the nation was equally remarkable. They have never since been recovered from their captivity, or nationally re-established, (as we shall presently find has been the case with Judah;) we are not informed of any season of refreshment or prosperity since enjoyed by them;—no prophet has been raised up to them;—nothing has remained but a wretched and debasing servitude to those whose principles and superstitions they had preferred to Jehovah.

Nevertheless, we have decided reason to conclude from the prophets, that Ephraim will at some future period be restored to their own land and re-united to Judah; and having been purged from their idolatries and sin, will be blessed with great religious and political prosperity and glory. The further consideration however of this interesting subject must for the present be deferred.

CHAPTER VII.

THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH.

REHOBOAM. [A.A.C. 976.]—WE now return to the period of the revolt of the ten tribes; whose defection, leaving to Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, only the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, gave rise to the kingdom of *Judah*, otherwise called the *Jews*, as distinguished from that of *Ephraim;* the tribe of Benjamin becoming so absorbed in Judah, as to be no longer separately mentioned. We have seen however that almost the entire of the priests and Levites repaired to it; (so that in reality it comprehended *three* tribes;) and that the godly and conscientious from the remainder of Israel came over to the house of David, and contributed greatly to strengthen and establish the throne of Rehoboam.

Though Jeroboam's was the greater sin, the conduct of Rehoboam, in provoking the revolt, was not passed over with impunity; and his reign was in several respects inglorious. Nevertheless, the annals of the kingdom of Judah present, on the whole, a striking contrast to those of Ephraim, in the earlier period of their respective histories. As if to mark the displeasure of God at the schismatical proceedings of the ten tribes, and to render more manifest his favour toward the dynasty of David, the former immediately declined, and under a succession of unprincipled rulers became weak from anarchy within, and despised by the nations around; whereas, the latter, being blessed with numerous princes of piety and ability, enjoyed internally a large measure of peace, arose to considerable grandeur and prosperity, and was generally respected also by its neighbours. One circumstance indeed, which marked the era of the revolt, equally affected both kingdoms: viz. that God now withdrew the manifestation of his Spirit from the supreme ruler in Israel; which gift, either in the way of prophecy, or some other form, had hitherto been a remarkable token of his presence among them. Whether its withdrawal was on account of the schism is not declared; but the fact itself is undeniable. We have seen that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, the heads of Israel during the Patriarchal period, were endowed with it; after the Exodus it was enjoyed not only by Moses, but by all the princes who formed the great council of the nations. Of the Judges it is mentioned as given in the instance of every one whose deeds are recorded,—Joshua, Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson and Samuel; and finally to the three kings, (Saul, David and Solomon,) who ruled over the nation in its integrity: but no sooner is it dissevered, through intestine jealousies and strife, than it is withheld in general from the princes, and confined to the prophets, who both previously and afterwards were from time to time raised up in Israel.

The first act of Rehoboam was to increase the means of defence in Judah, particularly on the side toward Ephraim; for which purpose he built several new cities. For three years he acted with prudence and discretion; but no sooner did he consider himself safely established, than casting off the fear of God, and forgetting the principles which had induced so many to rally round his throne, he forsook the law of Moses, erected hill altars and temples, planted groves, and adopted various superstitions of the heathen. The impure and effeminate practices likewise, by which the Canaanites had provoked the anger of God in the first instance, had crept into the land during the long previous period of wealth and luxury, and were now becoming crying sins among the whole nation.

For the correction of the nation, God stirred up Shishak, the king of Egypt, who, invading the kingdom with a large army, captured the frontier cities and advanced upon Jerusalem. A prophet was commissioned to announce to Rehoboam the cause of this visitation; and grace brought home the message to his heart: he humbled himself, as did likewise all his nobles; and he then received another message to assure him, that he should be delivered from destruction, but should nevertheless be despoiled. Shishak therefore was permitted to capture Jerusalem; but he contented himself with taking away the treasures of the temple and palace, and subjecting the country to tribute.[1]

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[1] The difficulty of identifying with precision what princes of Egypt, mentioned in profane history, belong to the names given in the sacred writings, is greater even than it is in regard to the kings of Assyria. At the least seven different princes have been fixed upon as *Shishak*. (See Perizonius, cap. xiii.) It is evidently the same prince with whom

This happened in the fifth year of Rehoboam; after which he reigned twelve more years in tolerable prosperity, and died.

ABIJAH. [A.A.C. 959.]—Rehoboam was succeeded by his favourite son Abijah, whose heart was in the beginning toward God; and war breaking out between him and Jeroboam, he made preparation for battle in full dependance on Jehovah. The numbers on each side were formidable. Judah was enabled to bring into the field 400,000 men, and Ephraim twice that number. Abijah was drawn into an ambush, through the superior skill of his antagonist; but God nevertheless gave him a signal victory, and the army of Jeroboam was routed with enormous slaughter, as has been related in the history of Ephraim. Nevertheless, Abijah did not continue to walk with God, but turned after idols; and was therefore cut off in the third year of his reign.

ASA. [A.A.C. 956.]—His son Asa, a prince of great piety succeeded to the throne. He commenced his

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Jeroboam took refuge in the time of Solomon, and necessarily therefore a successor of him whose daughter Solomon married. M. Champollion however has concluded him, with some probability, to be the *Sheshonk* or *Seconchis I.* of Manetho; on one of the ruined palaces of which monarch at ancient Thebes he has discovered a triumphal procession, in which the conqueror is represented as followed by the captives of various nations subdued by him. Among these is one with a strikingly Jewish countenance, the hieroglyphics on whose shield are interpreted by M. Champollion to signify *Ioudaha Malech*, the *king of Judah*, who is therefore concluded by him, and by J. S. Wilkinson, Esq., in his work on 'Egypt,' to be no other than Rehoboam. There is however this difficulty in the way of such a conclusion: viz. that the figure in question is represented as a captive, with his arms bound behind him, which does not agree with the scripture history of Rehoboam, who though humbled is not recorded to have been taken prisoner or led away. At the same time there is no record of the captivity of any other prince of Judah into *Egypt*; and it may have been customary to represent all who were vanquished in battle as captives in such processions.

reign by a determined warfare against the idols and other abominations which had taken possession of the kingdom in the preceding reigns; and even degraded the queen-mother because she presumed to set up an image in a grove. He was rewarded for his zeal with a period of profound quiet for the space of ten years: during which he again strengthened the fortresses of the kingdom, and increased the army to 580,000 men.

At the end of ten years the peace was interrupted by a formidable invasion by Zerah, king of Ethiopia, apparently the Cushite Arabians, who overflowed the land with a million of infantry and three hundred thousand chariots. The occasion of this war is not recorded; but its result is, and proved most triumphant to Asa, who, committing himself and people to God with a prayer of simple confidence, was favoured with a complete victory over his adversary, the plunder of all the cities belonging to him in the neighbourhood of Gerar, and a vast spoil brought into Jerusalem.[1]

Encouraged by the prophets, Asa next extended the reformation which he had effected at home into those cities of Ephraim which had been captured by his father; and his kingdom was also at this time further enlarged by numerous cities in the neighbouring tribes of Simeon and Manasseh, who placed themselves under his protection.

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[1] It is not agreed whether these enemies were Arabians or Abyssinians. Some think the latter are intended, leagued with the Egyptians; others that they were Egyptians under an Arabian general. (See Milman's Hist. Jews.) It is not improbable that they were instigated and aided by the Egyptians, in consequence of the discontinuance of the tribute imposed by Shishak; it is difficult otherwise to account for the immense number of *chariots* which they brought into the field; but "the cities of Gerar" apparently belonged to the Cushites.

A truly refreshing revival of religion appears to have followed. Asa convened a solemn assembly of the whole nation at Jerusalem; at which, after having offered numerous sacrifices with thanksgiving, he engaged the nation to enter into a solemn covenant, that whosoever should in future transgress God's commandment by the introduction of any idolatrous practice should be put to death. This the people readily swore to, giving themselves at the same time with one mind to the Lord, and heartily rejoicing before him. And God accepted them, giving them peace abroad and prosperity at home.

But Asa likewise must be shewn to be but man. It pleased God to permit Baasha, who now sat on the throne of Ephraim, to make war upon him. This prince, in order to prevent his subjects from visiting Jerusalem at all, seized upon Ramah, a city built in the passes between the two kingdoms, and began to construct an extensive range of fortifications. Upon this Asa sent a considerable present to the king of Syria, and induced him to break his league with Baasha, and to attack the country nearest to Damascus; and whilst Baasha was thus diverted for a while from his object, and compelled to withdraw his troops, Asa went up to Ramah with an army, and sweeping away the works already constructed, together with the materials, built with them Geba of Benjamin and Mizpah.

But God was nevertheless angered, because Asa, who could so simply trust in Him, when the Arabian king invaded the land, should now put his confidence in strangers, and have recourse to a foreign alliance.

He therefore sent the prophet Hanani to rebuke him, and to announce continual warfare to the end of his reign. The conduct of Asa on this occasion betrays, how insensibly pride and self-complacency may be luxuriating in the heart even of good men, when in the enjoyment of power, and amid a career of religious and political prosperity. He committed the prophet to prison, and greatly oppressed others, who probably ventured to remonstrate or to intercede.

Toward the latter end of his reign, God first smote him with a disease in his feet; but in this instance likewise he failed; for it is related of him that he sought to physicians for a cure, instead of to God; an act which was the more reprehensible in Asa, when it is considered that medical treatment then consisted chiefly in the practice of incantations, and pharmacy in charms. His singular want of confidence in God in the present instance cost him his life: for the disease was permitted to continue its ravages, and he was removed by it at the end of two years, and in the forty-first of his reign.

Notwithstanding these defects in the faith and conduct of Asa, we have assured testimony that his heart was "perfect with the Lord *all* his days;"[1] and he was undoubtedly among the most pious of the descendants of David.

JEHOSHAPHAT.—[A. A. C. 915.] Happily for Judah, Jehoshaphat, the son of Asa, succeeded both to the crown and the piety of his father. Animated by a laudable desire for the improvement and welfare of his subjects, he sent forth priests and Levites to itinerate through the kingdom, taking with them copies of the Book of the Law, and preaching to and instructing the people out of it; and he charged certain of the nobles to see to the execution of the design, both as regarded the fulfilment of the duties of the missionaries, and the attendance of the people on their instructions. This is the first instance we have recorded of any thing like a systematic plan of national education; and it was based upon the very best of principles, the book and the fear of God. From the Levites he likewise selected upright and pious persons to act as judges in all the cities of Judah; and constituted a court of appeal in Jerusalem, consisting also of priests, Levites, and nobles; the chief priest being appointed supreme judge in ecclesiastical matters, and the chief prince of the house of Judah supreme in civil causes. He also himself occasionally made the tour of his dominions, and personally inspected the different cities, examining more especially into their religious state: for he was convinced that nothing but a strict adherence to the precepts of Jehovah was calculated to secure the permanent safety and welfare of his kingdom.

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[1] 2 Chron. xv. 17.—A testimony which shews with how great a limitation the expression "*perfect*" is to be understood in the scriptures, when applied to the righteousness of man.

The Lord gave to this excellent prince a corresponding blessing. The fear of God continued to prevail among his subjects, and so far extended to the neighbouring kingdoms that they dared not attempt any thing against a throne which they saw to be so eminently established in righteousness; whilst the kings of Arabia and Philistia voluntarily brought presents and tribute.

The commerce of the kingdom so greatly increased, that Jehoshaphat was obliged to erect store cities and magazines in various places. The disposable forces of the country (which however for the most part followed agriculture in times of peace) were increased to the large number of 1,160,000 men, well equipped, besides those which garrisoned the different fortresses; a fact which evinces how greatly the population must have increased during the long interval of prosperity which had been enjoyed; and how mighty God had now made this little kingdom, the geographical extent of which scarcely exceeded the county of Yorkshire.[1]

But of Jehoshaphat also it must be shown that he is fallible. Notwithstanding the entire apostasy of Ahab, who was now upon the throne of Ephraim,

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[1] Those who judge only by the population of the world in the present day, and the fertility of land in Europe, treat the large armies mentioned in holy writ, and the consequent large population of the kingdoms in which they were raised, as incredible; but there is nothing more extraordinary recorded in the scriptures on these points, than is to be found in profane authors of the first authority. Tacitus relates that the city of Thebes furnished 700,000 fighting men; (Annal. ii.) Strabo, that the freemen alone of Sybaris, actually drawn out in battalia, amounted to 300,000; (lib. vi.) Athenæus mentions three cities of Greece, the slaves in each of which amounted to about half a million; (lib. vi. c. 20.) and Josephus says of Galilee, that it contained 204 cities and villages, the least of which had above 15,000 inhabitants. Indeed the Abbe Fleury states, that from calculations he had made, there was *not one fiftieth part* of the population in the world in his days that existed in the time of Julius Cæsar; though this calculation appears to be somewhat in the opposite extreme. Then as to the means of supply for such numbers: Diodorus Siculus relates that in Egypt sheep were twice shorn, and brought forth lambs twice in the year. (cap. i. 36.) Pliny speaks of corn which by being planted in single grains produced numerous stalks, bearing from 300 to 400 ears. And Herodotus writes thus of Babylonia, "Of all the countries which have come within my observation, this is far the most fruitful in corn. The soil is so well adapted for it, that it never produces less than 200 fold: in seasons remarkably favourable it will rise to 300 fold. The ear of their wheat and barley is four digits in size. The immense height to which millet and sesamum will grow I fear to mention, though I have witnessed it; being aware that those who have not visited this country will deem it beyond all probability." (Clio, cxciii. p. 89. Edit. Steph. 1592.)

Jehoshaphat, either flattered by the manner in which that prince had courted his alliance, or moved by a consideration of the natural affinity between the two kingdoms, not only entered into a treaty with him, but paid him a visit at Samaria, where he and his retinue were entertained with great pageantry and feasting. During this visit he likewise accompanied Ahab to the siege of Ramoth-Gilead, which had been captured from Ephraim by the Syrians; and this notwithstanding he had been warned by a prophet of God, that the expedition would not be successful. The result, as we have seen in the last chapter, proved disastrous to Ahab; and Jehoshaphat, narrowly escaping with his life, had the mortification of returning to Jerusalem, rather in the manner of a flight than from a visit of state.

On his return home, the cause of this humiliation was thus declared to Jehoshaphat by the prophets: "Shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord? *Therefore* is wrath upon thee from before the Lord." (2 Chron. xix. 2.) Which message, however it may be despised by the spurious liberality of modern politicians or religionists, nevertheless plainly evinces, that nations, as well as individuals, contract guilt before God by unholy and unprincipled alliances.

A chastisement of a serious character was impending. Intelligence was brought to Jerusalem that the country was suddenly invaded by three powerful states—Moab, Edom, and Ammon, and their allies. The confederacy had been conducted with great secrecy, during the absence of Jehoshaphat; and with an immense multitude of warriors the enemy had now rounded the southern extremity of the Dead

Sea, and advanced as far as Engedi on their march to Jerusalem. The nation, and especially the metropolis, was filled with alarm. The king humbled himself, and immediately appointed a general fast; which was observed with great solemnity, Jehoshaphat himself offering public prayer and intercession. In the midst of it Jehaziel, a Levite, was suddenly filled with the Spirit, and declared to the assembly, that God was entreated,—that they need not fear the enemy, neither fight with them,—and had only to go forth on the morrow and witness the salvation of the Lord. The effect of this announcement was electrical. The king, together with the whole congregation, fell prostrate and worshipped; the Levites burst forth into a loud chorus of praise; and the fast was immediately changed into the joy and cheerfulness of a festival. Early on the following morning the whole city marched forth, preceded by a company of singers, who praised the Lord; and the scene more resembled the celebration of a triumph than the going forth to meet a multitudinous enemy. On their arrival at a certain watch-tower in the wilderness of Tekoa, they discovered that their foes were all dead corpses. For great jealousies had risen up among them; and having planted ambuscades to entrap the Jews, those of Ammon and Moab combined to surprise the Edomites instead, and actually destroyed them; and next, being mistrustful of each other, a strife commenced among themselves, and friend and foe, owing to the darkness of the night, were indiscriminately massacred. With the exception perhaps of a few fugitives, the mass of this immense multitude now lay prostrate before Judah, who were occupied three days in carrying off the spoil. On the fourth day the king appointed a solemn thanksgiving in the valley itself where the enemy had encamped, which place was thence called *Berachah* or *blessing;* after which they returned to Jerusalem, and there again rejoiced with thanksgiving before the house of the Lord.

One would have concluded, that the rebuke which Jehoshaphat received for his alliance with Ahab, and his remarkable deliverance from the punishment which he had thereby provoked, would have effectually prevented him from falling into the like error again. But there are plausible arguments for such a step, (particularly in behalf of those who claim to be brethren,) that are calculated to impose even upon men of pious and devout mind; and the very next year therefore witnesses the king of Judah entering into a friendly treaty with Ahaziah, the son of Ahab; the object of which was to build and man ships together, and to share between them the profits of the commerce thence arising. He might perhaps have supposed that the anger of God, on the former occasion, was not so much on account of the apostasy of Israel generally, as of Ahab personally; and that the ban of interdiction did not therefore extend itself to his son: it is at least evident, that his mind was not sufficiently enlightened to perceive the mischievous tendency of his policy in a religious point of view, and that however specious the pretext by which it might be defended, it must ultimately tend to relax the principles of true godliness among his own subjects, and thus prove injurious to the real welfare of the nation. God however proved faithful to correct him; and the fleet therefore had no sooner sailed from Ezion Geber than it was visited by a storm, and completely wrecked. Ahaziah upon this proposed another treaty to Jehoshaphat; but the latter having at length been taught obedience, explicitly and firmly declined it.

Jehoshaphat lived seven years after he had broken off his intercourse with the house of Ephraim, during the whole of which he continued to walk with God, and the nation to enjoy prosperity and peace. On his decease he was buried with great pomp in the sepulchre of David; his son Jehoram, who for two years previous had been associated with him in the government, becoming sole monarch. (2 Kings viii. 16.)

JEHORAM. [A.A.C. 891.]—Up to this period the kingdom of Judah had continued faithful in the main, and had enjoyed a long season of glory and prosperity; but from the death of Jehoshaphat may be dated its decline. The two princes who now occupied the respective thrones of Ephraim and Judah were not only alike in name, but also in character; and having had the example of his father to encourage him in unholy political alliances, the king of Judah went further, and being destitute of piety, married the sister of Jehoram of Ephraim, who was the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, and nurtured in all the idolatries and superstitions of her parents.

Jehoram, immediately after having formed this connection, began to erect altars to the heathen deities; but, though many followed his example, the more respectable portion of the nation disapproved his proceedings. Aware of this circumstance, and becoming thereby jealous of the greater popularity of his brethren, the other sons of Jehoshaphat, he slew them, and many likewise of the more virtuous of the nobility, and compelled the remainder to conform to the abominations he had introduced.

The rod however was at hand. The heathen around had become wise enough to discern that the power and prosperity of the nation depended on its obedience to Jehovah; and observing therefore that it was now walking contrary, first the Edomites, who had been tributary, revolted, and came against Jehoram with a numerous army; and though God delivered him out of their hands, yet did he not permit him to reduce them again to subjection. Next Libnah revolted; after which the Philistines united in a confederacy with the Arabian tribes adjoining, and invading the land, captured Jerusalem, and carried off the treasure, wives, and all the sons of Jehoram, excepting Jeho-Ahaz, or Ahaz-iah, the youngest.

To complete his misfortunes, the Lord smote Jehoram with a malignant disease in his bowels, insomuch that they fell out, and he died in great misery; and so despised was he by the nation, that they buried him not in the sepulchres of the illustrious princes who had preceded him.

AHAZIAH. [A.A.C. 884.]—The youthful Ahaziah succeeded Jehoram. His mother was Athaliah, another of the family of Ahab, under whose influence, and that of Jezebel, her sister-in-law, he fell during his minority. He, as has been related, went down to visit Jehoram of Ephraim, just when Jehu was inflicting vengeance on that prince; and was cut off before he had completed one year of his reign.

ATHALIAH. [A.A.C. 883.]—An evil prospect was still before Judah. Athaliah, the mother of Ahaziah, was quite as profane and profligate, and even more ambitious, than Jezebel. On the death of her son, she formed the design of murdering all the branches of the royal family that might have any pretension to the throne, and of seizing the reins of government. In this she succeeded, with the exception of Joash, an infant child of her own son Ahaziah, who was concealed by his aunt, a woman of better spirit, the wife of Jehoiada the high priest.

Athaliah, on becoming queen, set herself zealously to establish the worship of Baal in her dominions. She closed the temple of Jehovah, having previously stripped it of its splendid ornaments and utensils and bestowed them upon Baal; after which for six years she gave full rein to her licentiousness and idolatries. In the seventh year, however, Jehoiada, having concerted measures with certain chief men and officers for placing upon the throne the child Joash, who was secreted in a chamber of the deserted temple, summoned his friends upon an appointed day to the temple, as if for sacrifice, and bringing forth to them the young prince, he anointed and crowned him king. On hearing the acclamations the queen hastened to the temple; but at the command of Jehoiada was dragged thence and slain beyond its precincts.

JOASH. [A.A.C. 877.]—Though Joash was now on the throne, the kingdom was in reality governed by the counsel of Jehoiada and his wife; whose beneficial influence indeed did not cease, even after the king had arrived at full age. The first step taken was to re-open the temple; the next to bring the whole nation into solemn covenant to worship only Jehovah: after which the people went forth and slew the high priest of Baal, demolished his temple, and broke down the altars and images in all directions.

The country then enjoyed peace for upwards of twenty years, with the exception of a threatened attack from Hazael, king of Syria, which was averted by a sum of money. Soon after this Jehoiada died, at the advanced age of 130 years; and on account of his eminent services his remains were deposited in the sepulchres of the kings of Judah. But no sooner was he consigned to the tomb, than a rapid apostasy overspread the land; whereby was betrayed how much the previous revival had been brought about and sustained by his personal influence; and how little dependance can be placed upon a continuance in well-doing, when the heart is not truly converted to God, as was the case with Joash. The king and the chief nobles of Judah, as if they had been secretly sighing for a toleration in licentiousness, by a deliberate compact abandoned the God of their fathers; and when the Spirit of God came upon Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, who testified against them, the king commanded him to be stoned to death;—an act which at once evinced the most flagrant impiety toward God, and the basest ingratitude toward his late benefactor.

The nation did not escape punishment for this act. Before the year was expired in which it was perpetrated, a small band of Syrians surprised Jerusalem and overran the country, making havoc more especially of the princes and chief men, ransacking their palaces, and sending away the spoil to Damascus. The subjects of Joash had no power to resist, for God was not with them; and his own servants, during the terror which prevailed, conspired against his life, and murdered him in his bed.

AMAZIAH. [A.A.C. 837.]—Amaziah, the son of Joash, having signally avenged his father's death, next prepared to make war upon the Edomites; for which purpose he hired a hundred thousand Israelites. God was again displeased at this alliance, and at the countenance thus given to Ephraim, and by a prophet warned Amaziah that he should fail in his expedition, if he persisted in this intermixture; but promising him victory if he dismissed them. To the credit of Amaziah he obeyed, both disbanding the men of Ephraim and paying them the hundred talents for which he had hired them; and he was accordingly favoured with complete success against the Edomites.

We have had so many proofs, in the course of this history, of the deplorable inconsistency of the human heart, that we ought not to be surprised at any further display of it: yet is the conduct of Amaziah after this victory amazing. Though he had found by experience, that the gods of Edom were unable to defend those who put their trust in them, yet did he resolve to make them *his* trust, and immediately introduced them into Judah and bowed down to them.

But the scourge as immediately followed. The troops of Ephraim, which had recently been dismissed, had imprudently been left to find their own way home; and this in a state of exasperation, in consequence of the reproach cast upon them. God now let them loose upon Judah; and whilst the king was glorying in the territory wrested from Edom, these were, upon the opposite side of his dominions, committing great ravages, attacking the cities, slaughtering the inhabitants, and carrying off their treasure. Upon the intelligence of these things Amaziah, in a tone of haughty defiance, prompted by his recent success against Edom, challenged Joash, the king of

Ephraim, to meet him in the field. He was generously remonstrated with by Joash, and also by a prophet, who warned him first to put away his idols; but the king threatened the life of God's messenger, and with a rash infatuation persisted in defying Ephraim; the consequence of which was, that he was defeated in a battle fought at Bethshemesh, and had the mortification to be taken prisoner by Joash, who afterward captured Jerusalem. Here Joash magnanimously set his prisoner at liberty; but took hostages of him for his good behaviour; and having rifled the treasury and broken down great part of the city walls, he departed.

Nothwithstanding this humbling, Amaziah continued to walk contrary to God; and his own subjects soon after conspired against him, and put him to death.

UZZIAH. [A.A.C. 808.]—Uzziah, the son of Amaziah, became king at the early age of sixteen years. He was possessed of considerable abilities both for war and for peace, and piously disposed withal toward Jehovah; wherefore God favoured him with a long and prosperous reign of fifty-two years. Having rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, and strengthened the defences of the kingdom throughout, he waged a successful warfare against the Philistines and some of the Arabian tribes. He then constructed numerous magazines, arsenals and warlike engines,[1] built various cities, and became so respected abroad, that the Syrians on the one side, and the Egyptians on the other, courted his friendship and sent him gifts.

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[1] He is said to have been the inventor of the Basilistæ and Catapultæ, afterwards adopted by the Greeks and Romans. (See Calmet.) Engines were certainly constructed by him for discharging stones and arrows, and attributed to the invention of his "cunning men." (2 Chron. xxvi. 15.) The foundation of Rome is by some writers placed in his reign; others place it in the succeeding reign, varying from B.C. 753 to 748. The era of the Greek Olympiads likewise commenced in his reign, viz. B.C. 777.

Having provided for the security of his dominions, so far as military arrangements were concerned, he next turned his attention to agriculture. He raised large flocks and herds; for the protection of which he built folds fortified with towers, and dug wells in various places. He likewise planted numerous vineyards, and promoted other branches of husbandry.

But the long season of prosperity was accompanied by its usual attendants. From the prophets Joel, Isaiah and Micah, who flourished during this reign, we learn, that the more extended cultivation of the grape was followed by a wider prevalence and increase of drunkenness; insomuch that they sold even their children for wine. The women became excessively addicted to fantastic apparel; and wantonness followed in the train of frivolity. The rich men were ambitious of possessing large territories; adding field to field, without any bounds to their covetousness; and this to the utter contempt of the rights of those whose lands ought to have been restored to them. Frauds and deceitful weights and balances were common among the merchants and traders; and unrighteousness and oppression perverted the fountains of justice. This led to the undermining of the true religion, and the land was again filled with idols.

Fearful denunciations against their folds, their vineyards, and their towers were heard, like the sound of thunder rumbling in the distance; but the present sunshine appeared to mock the gloomy forebodings of the prophets; and though the nation was warned by a serious earthquake, (Amos i. 1. Zech.

xiv. 5.) and called to humiliation and fasting, no such proceeding is recorded. There were indeed some who sighed on account of the abominations which prevailed; and great lights were raised up for the comfort of these, in the prophets already named, and especially by means of Zechariah, a priest, to whom God gave great understanding by visions; but whilst the Lord by their means was calling out his remnant, the mass of the nation was daily more and more provoking his wrath, and lapsing into idolatry.

In the meanwhile the king himself became greatly intoxicated by prosperity, and forgetting upon whom he was dependant, he determined in the arrogance of his heart to invade the sanctuary, and to unite in himself the function of priest as well as king. Proceeding on a day appointed to the temple with a censer, he was met by Azariah the chief priest, a man of virtuous and intrepid spirit, who admonished him of his sin, and authoritatively forbade his entrance. Enraged at this resistance the king rushed past Azariah and his companions, and penetrated to the altar of incense; when the Lord struck him with leprosy, which immediately began to appear in his forehead, and he hastened in confusion to return; being at the same time hurried, or literally turned out, of the sanctuary by the priests.

Uzziah continued a leper through the remainder of his days; and thus he, who had aspired to enter the forbidden recesses of the temple, was debarred by the law from access even to its courts. The same disease rendered him incapable of engaging publicly in any political functions; so that he withdrew from his palace to a more private residence, and appointed his son Jotham regent.

JOTHAM. [A. A. C. 756.]—God's people were blessed with another righteous prince in Jotham. He waged a successful war against the Syrians of Ammon; besides which nothing worthy of notice is related of him; except that he "became mighty because he prepared his ways before the Lord his God:" a brief but glorious and comprehensive record.

AHAZ. [A.A.C. 741.]—After a creditable reign of sixteen years over a declining empire, Jotham died, and was succeeded by his son Ahaz, who proved a lamentable contrast to his father. He immediately set up the princes of Ephraim as his model, introduced Baal, sacrificed in high places, erected images, offered several of his children to Moloch, and abandoned himself to every form of idolatry.

The punishment of Ahaz for these offences was strikingly retributive. God raised up against him the Syrians of Damascus, under Rezin their king; and Ephraim, whose gods Ahaz was endeavouring to propitiate, instead of siding with him, formed an alliance with his adversary. This confederacy proved very disastrous to Judah: on the one side the Syrians made great havoc, and carried off a multitude of captives to Damascus; whilst, on the other, the king of Ephraim slew 120,000 Jews, and carried away 200,000 women and children, together with an immense booty, to Samaria. The circumstance of these captives being afterwards restored has been related in the previous chapter.

The combined armies next laid siege to Jerusalem, and the dynasty of David seemed about to fall: for the avowed object of these two kings was to dethrone Ahaz, and set up another in his place. At this juncture the prophet Isaiah was sent to Ahaz, before whom he uttered one of his most striking predictions, concerning the final and perpetual establishment of the kingdom of Israel, under the Righteous One or Messiah, who was to be born of a virgin; and likewise announcing that the king of Assyria should presently dethrone the two kings who were confederate against him. To assure Ahaz and his court, the prophet predicted things nearer at hand, as a token; but the king was unable, through unbelief, to derive any confidence from the prophecy; and the dangers being now increased by an attack from the Edomites and Philistines, who took several cities, he anticipated the prophecy by courting the dangerous alliance of Tiglath-Pileser (or Tilgath-Pilneser) the king of Assyria, and intreating his intervention. The Assyrian did indeed attack Damascus and slay Rezin the king of Syria; and he afterwards captured Samaria; but he greatly distressed Ahaz by the presents and subsidies which he exacted; he restored to him none of the towns which he regained from the enemy; and by establishing himself in Samaria, he proved a more dangerous neighbour than the kings of Ephraim.

Ahaz was not improved by misfortune: he was rendered sensible indeed that the gods of Ephraim had done him no good; but he nevertheless resolved to try what the gods of Syria could effect,—those gods whom he had just seen were utterly unable to protect the Syrians themselves. He presently filled the cities of Israel with images of these deities, and finally shut up the temple, after having first denuded it of all its ornaments and furniture, both in gold and brass, to satisfy the rapacity of the king of Assyria. Happily however for Judah, Ahaz was cut off in the midst of his career: and the nation was so far sensible of his guilt, that though they interred him respectfully, as became his station, they would not deposit his remains in the royal sepulchres.[1]

HEZEKIAH. [A.A.C. 726.]—God again evinced great mercy toward Judah. The son who succeeded Ahaz in the throne was Hezekiah, one of the little remnant of believers who still remained in Zion. His first measure was to re-open the temple, with solemn trespass and thank offerings to Jehovah; having accomplished which he next determined, at the proper season, to observe the passover, which had long since fallen into neglect. Proclamation was made, not only in all the cities of Judah, but throughout *Israel*, inviting the people to assemble at Jerusalem for the purpose; from which it would appear that Hezekiah, though he claimed no political jurisdiction in Ephraim, was nevertheless desirous to see all the tribes united in the worship of God, and to be one in ecclesiastical matters. The king's proclamation however met with a very different reception in the two countries: in Judah the people unanimously complied; but in Ephraim the messengers were generally treated with mockery and contempt; though there was nevertheless an election among them, who humbled themselves before God, endured the reproach of piety, and came up to Jerusalem; most of whom afterwards permanently settled themselves in Judea. The people assembled at this passover were so edified by the solemnities thereof, that they held a meeting and determined to remain another week, and observe it in like manner; during which they were liberally feasted at the cost of the king and the chief princes. Whilst thus congregated together they rose up also, filled with a zeal of God, and destroyed all the strange altars in Jerusalem; and on their return home they in like manner demolished the altars and images in all places through which they passed or to which they came, not excepting several of the cities of Ephraim. Hezekiah himself heartily laboured to abolish every vestige of idolatry and superstition. He cut down the groves and removed the high places, the practice of burning incense at which had been connived at, even by the best kings, ever since the time of David. He likewise destroyed the brazen serpent which had been preserved from the time of Moses, because the veneration of the people for it as a relic had grown into superstition, so that they burned incense to it. He next regulated the service of the temple; provided for the religious instruction of the people, and for the sustenance of the priests and Levites; the tithes being brought in from all quarters with so much readiness, that there was a large surplus, for which it was necessary to build magazines. Considering himself strong enough, he next shook off the yoke of the king of Assyria, with which his father had entrammelled himself; and recovered also the territory taken by the Philistines, after having gained several important advantages over them.

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[1] The custom of adjudging the funeral honours due to their deceased kings, of which we have so many instances recorded in the scriptures, was probably derived, at a remote period, from the Egyptians; who, according to Diodorus Siculus, had a singular custom of holding a post mortem tribunal upon all who died, (any person being permitted to call their deeds in question;) and they determined their funeral honours according to their previous lives, their kings not being exempt; "whereby (he says) their rulers were often prompted to acquit themselves beforehand by virtuous actions." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. i. c. 6, 7.)

In the fourteenth year of his reign, the Assyrians, whose king was now Sennacherib,[1] invaded him with a large army, intending to take permanent possession of Judea. Hezekiah was not inactive: he made the needful military preparations, and succeeded in inspiring his troops with great confidence, by reminding them that God was on their side. But, strange to relate, the heart of Hezekiah himself was the first to faint; for when he found that Sennacherib was taking his fortified cities, one after the other, he sent an embassy to him to Lachish, which city he was then investing, offering to submit to any tribute, provided he would evacuate the Jewish territory. Sennacherib imposed on him a fine of 300 talents of silver, and 30 of gold; which so exhausted the treasury of Hezekiah, that he was reduced to the expedient of stripping the doors and pillars of the temple of the gold with which he had previously overlaid them. Neither did he obtain the object he desired; for the Assyrian, like his predecessor, Tiglath Pileser, took the money, but pressed the siege of Lachish with greater vigour, and sent forward an army, under his general Tartan and others, to summon Jerusalem to surrender. These arrogantly set forth to the people on the walls the successes of their master against other kingdoms, and the consequent folly of Judah in resisting, under the notion that Jehovah could effect what the gods of those nations could not. But Hezekiah, having referred their blasphemies to Isaiah, beseeching him to call upon the Lord, received an assurance that his enemy should return inglorious, and fall by the sword in his own land. Which speedily came to pass; for Sennacherib, hearing that Tirhakah, the king of Egypt, was advancing against him, sent an embassy to Hezekiah with a letter, in which he urged him still more vehemently to surrender; but the same night God sent forth a destroying angel, who smote 185,000 of the Assyrians.[1] Sennacherib now fled back in dismay to Nineveh, where he was assassinated by two of his sons, in the temple of the idol in whom he had gloried.

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[1] Sennacherib is represented by the ancient historians as a potent and successful monarch up to this time. He subdued Babylonia, and defeated and sunk a Grecian fleet on the coast of Cilicia; after which he built there *Tarsis*, the city of Paul, in imitation of Babylon, directing the course of the river Cydnus through it, in the same manner that the Euphrates intersected Babylon. (Euseb. Armn. Chron.)

This striking interposition of Jehovah, whilst it delivered the Jews from further apprehension from the Assyrians, impressed the surrounding nations with so full a conviction that God was on their side, that during the remainder of the life of Hezekiah they sent him gifts, and courted his friendship; by which means, and the commerce it procured for him, his treasury was abundantly replenished.

Soon after this, Hezekiah fell sick, and betraying great anxiety concerning his recovery, God promised him through the prophet Isaiah an extension of fifteen years to the term of his life; giving to him this previous sign,—that the shadow of a sun-dial erected by Ahaz should go back ten degrees. The miracle came to pass, and the king was restored to health; but the prolongation of his days did not add to his glory. The fame of the miracle having reached the Chaldeans, who were much addicted to astrology, the king of Babylon sent an embassy to Hezekiah, for the two-fold purpose of congratulating him on his recovery, and of inquiring into this astronomical phenomenon. Flattered by the gifts and courtesies of so great a prince, Hezekiah was lifted up with pride, and ostentatiously displayed to the ambassadors all the treasures and stores throughout his dominions. God sent to reprove him, and to admonish him that the cupidity of the king of Babylon would be excited by the report of his deputies; and that the days were at hand when all that was in his house, not excepting his children, should be carried to Babylon. The king and all Jerusalem with him humbled themselves before God on this report; and were thereupon assured that the calamity should not occur in Hezekiah's days. He consequently died in the midst of great peace and prosperity, after a reign of thirty-six years; the nation bearing testimony to the estimation in which he was held, by unusual funeral honors.

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[1] Various hypotheses have been advanced respecting the means by which this destruction was effected; but the scripture is silent as to the second agency employed, and conjecture therefore must be vain.

MANASSEH. [A.A.C. 697.]—Nothing tends more to render manifest the superficial character of much of that religion which is professed, when godliness is patronised from the throne, than a withdrawing of that influence, and the substitution of an evil ruler in its place. Thus was Judah again sifted and proved on the death of Hezekiah. His son Manasseh, a youth of only twelve years of age, succeeded him, and immediately plunged headlong into idolatry. He rebuilt the high places, reared up afresh the altars of Baal, offered his sons to Moloch, and introduced images and heathen altars into the courts and sanctuary of the temple itself. The virtue and piety of the priesthood, which in the reign of Uzziah could resist a lesser sacrilege in a better king, was now vanished; and the people either looked on with indifference, or actually conformed to the evil example of Manasseh; who seduced them to practices more atrocious even than those, which among the Canaanites had provoked the wrath of God. The compliance of the nation will be the less wondered at, when the character given of their spiritual guides in the preceding reign, by Isaiah and others, is taken into the account: viz. that they were drunken, sensual, slothful, covetous and ignorant;—"dumb dogs (as they are called,) loving to slumber, greedy, that never had enough, watchmen that were blind, shepherds that could not understand." (Isa. lx. 10, &c.)

Manasseh did not stop at idolatry and sensuality: he became oppressive and tyrannical, so that Jerusalem was filled with the blood of those who were arbitrarily put to death. The righteous prophets warned the nation, and reminded them of what had already come upon Ephraim, now in captivity; but the stupor and infatuation of sin and unbelief had seized upon them, and the prophets were despised and persecuted.[1] God therefore now brought on them that rod, which he had foretold but deferred in Hezekiah's time. The king of Babylon invaded Judea, and having vanquished and captured Manasseh, put him in fetters and carried him to Babylon.

Affliction is a school in which many have learned wisdom; and through the mercy of God it proved so in the case of Manasseh. In the solitude of his captivity he turned to Jehovah with real humiliation and penitence; and God was entreated, and gave him favor in the eyes of the king of Babylon, who restored him to his kingdom. He now did all he could to repair his former errors. He restored the worship of Jehovah, and removed all the abominations of idolatry which he had previously introduced; with the exception of the high places, and at these he only permitted sacrifices to the true God.

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[1] Isaiah is supposed to have been sawn asunder in this reign; but it is not probable. He is said to have prophesied in the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah; but no mention is made of his doing so in the time of Manasseh, nor of the great age to which in that case he must have lived.

It is not recorded at what period Manasseh returned from Babylon: probably it was about the middle of his reign; in which case he was devoted to the interests of true religion for a period of from twenty-five to thirty years, and completed a reign of fifty-five years in all,—the longest which was granted to any of the kings, whether of Judah or Ephraim.

AMON. [A.A.C. 642.]—Though Amon, the son and successor of Manasseh, was not born until after his father's repentance and return from captivity, he nevertheless imitated the earlier portion of his reign, and once more led the nation into idolatry. But a speedy end was put to his career, by a treasonable conspiracy among his own servants, who deprived him of life in the second year of his reign.

JOSIAH. [A.A.C. 640.]—The people avenged the treason that cut off Amon, by putting all who were implicated in it to death; after which they set up his son Josiah, a child only eight years of age. But Josiah was richly endued of God with divine grace; and as soon as he had reached his twentieth year, he began to assail and to suppress the abuses which he had hitherto tolerated. The altars of Baal were once more broken down, and the images of every description were pounded to dust and strewed upon the graves of those who had been their worshippers,—a striking lesson to their descendants of the impotence of the gods in which their fathers had trusted.

In the next year Josiah was greatly strengthened and encouraged by the raising up of Jeremiah, afterwards of great eminence as a servant of God. But the most remarkable circumstance, in the reformation which the king was now carrying on, occurred in the eighteenth year of his reign. This was the discovery of the original book or roll of the Law, which had now been lost for many generations, but which was found thrown aside as lumber or rubbish in one of the chambers of the temple. The king on hearing the contents of it was deeply affected at the great judgments which the nation was provoking by a departure from it; and though immediately assured by a divine message, that he himself should be exempted from those judgments, yet with the spirit of a true patriot, he immediately set about to avert, if possible, the anger of God from his erring people. He convened a general assembly of the inhabitants of Jerusalem of every rank, together with the elders of all the cities and villages throughout his dominions; and having caused the book of the Law to be read in their hearing, he first made a covenant with God himself, to walk according to what was contained therein, and then caused all that were present to do the like.

He now prosecuted the reformation with increased vigour. He punished and degraded those priests, whom he discovered still adhering in secret to the abominations of idolatry; he put to death or banished the wizards and those possessed with familiar spirits; he broke down the high places, removed the groves, defiled Tophet, in the valley of Hinnom, (where it was customary to offer children to Moloch,) and took away the sculptured horses that had been dedicated to the sun. Pursuing his course at this time into those cities of Judah which had formerly belonged to Ephraim, and having dug up and burnt the bones of the idolatrous priests, and strewed them upon the altars, for the purpose of defiling them, he espied at Bethel the sepulchre of the prophet, who, in Jeroboam's days, had foretold that a king named *Josiah* would accomplish this: a circumstance by which he would again be much encouraged and confirmed. He concluded by observing a Passover to the Lord; which is recorded as having exceeded all that had gone before, since the days of Samuel, in solemnity and conformity to the Mosaic ritual.

Considering the piety and zeal of the king; the eminence of Jeremiah, together with Zephaniah, Habakkuk, and other prophets his contemporaries; the discovery and renewed promulgation of the Law; the abolition of all manifest traces of idolatry and superstition; and the encouraging fact also, that there was a remnant in the nation, daily increasing, who feared God; it might be concluded that religion was never in a more prosperous condition. But such was not the fact. There was no soundness in the mass of the nation to second the efforts of the monarch; and the reformation was consequently in appearance only, and not reality. The example and influence of a king to *evil* is almost certain to be followed by the multitude; because the human heart is naturally inclined to sin, and only waits for countenance or opportunity to rush into it: but the same power exercised for *good* produces often no more than a constrained conformity in externals; even as

Judah was at this time reproved by the prophets, as "dealing treacherously," "turning to God feignedly," and "holding fast deceit." Neither is the circumstance that God raises up great lights in a nation, and excites by their means increased attention to religion, a necessary indication that the body politic is in a healthy state; but as, in the case of the natural body, the multiplication of physicians and of medical aids often arises from the presence of some dangerous disease; so in the present instance, Josiah and Jeremiah appeared to be raised up to make more manifest the desperate malignity of that moral disease with which Judah was afflicted; just as in the worst periods of the decline of Ephraim, the prophets Elijah and Elisha were vouchsafed. The hypocrisy and profligacy of the priests has already been noticed: that of the nation generally was quite equal to it. They were not without a certain pride in the Mosaic ritual, and gloried over the Gentiles, as if they themselves were "the temple of the Lord," and holier than other nations; but the practical religion and morality of the Law they considered "a reproach, and took no delight in it;" and with still greater inconsistency they adopted the abominations of the people they despised. They sacrificed their children to idols, and yet came into the sanctuary of God on the same day.[1] They burnt incense to Baal in secret, and made cakes (or offerings) to the moon as the queen of heaven, and poured out libations to other gods. Their women also observed the solemnities of Thammuz and wept for him;[2]

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[1] This is related by Ezekiel (chap. xxiii. 39.) who, though strictly a prophet of the captivity, describes the characteristics of this period.

[2] *Thammuz* was a youth of whom the heathen fabled that Venus

lewdness, adultery, incest and more hateful sensuality abounded, together with drunkenness; whilst covetousness, bribery, extortion, fraud, oppression, and even murder, were ordinary matters. The prophet challenges them to run to and fro through Jerusalem and to inquire and seek; and that if only one man could be found that executed judgment and sought the truth, God would yet pardon the city. But it was not pardoned. Though great mercy was shewn toward the remnant that sighed and cried for these abominations; and great glory was promised to them and to the church hereafter; yet was it declared that the arm of God was still stretched forth to be avenged upon the nation generally, and that notwithstanding what was now doing by Josiah, wrath was determined against it.

The first blow which the nation afterwards received was the sudden and inglorious removal of Josiah; who, like all the worthies that preceded him, was left to betray, that he could not walk uprightly and discreetly without God. He rashly, and against the counsel of God, attacked Pharaoh Nechoh, as that prince was marching against the king of Assyria; although Pharaoh generously remonstrated with him. A battle was fought in the valley of Megiddo, in which Josiah received a mortal wound, and was carried back a corpse to Jerusalem.[1] The nation lamented him with apparent sincerity, and the grief of Jeremiah in particular is especially recorded.

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became enamoured; and that Mars having killed him through jealousy, she bewailed him at a certain period of the year. This season was observed by heathen women with many obscene and impure rites.

[1] Herodotus notices this battle; but he calls the Jews *Syrians*, Jerusalem *Kadytis*, i.e. קדושה, the *holy city*, and Megiddo he mistakes for *Magdolum*, a town of lower Egypt. (Euterpe. S. clix.)

JEHOAHAZ. [A. A. C. 609.]—Jehoahaz, named also Shallum, a younger son of Josiah, was made king by the people, to the prejudice of his elder brother Eliakim. For what reason he was preferred does not appear, unless it were for his manifest impiety; for he immediately proceeded to restore idolatry, and to undo all that his father had accomplished. But condign punishment quickly came upon him: for as Pharaoh-Nechoh returned from his expedition, he surprised Jerusalem, put Jehoahaz in chains, and removed him from the country, after having reigned only three months. He then set up Eliakim in his stead, changing his name to Jehoiakim.

JEHOIAKIM. [A.A.C. 609.]—The change of the governor did not improve the spiritual circumstances of the nation; for Jehoiakim equally departed from the Lord. They were now visited with serious famine; but instead of its producing repentance, Jeremiah, who took occasion to admonish them, and afterwards warned them of more serious judgments from Babylon, was scourged and put in the stocks; and being a second time apprehended was about to be put to death, but was delivered by the interposition of Ahikam, a pious friend, who had been the secretary of Josiah.

The first burst of the impending storm speedily followed. In the third year of Jehoiakim, the great Nebuchadnezzar, who had just succeeded to the throne of Babylon, came and besieged Jerusalem, and the following year captured it, and carried away Jehoiakim in fetters of brass to Babylon, together with numerous other captives; among whom was the eminent Daniel and his companions Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah, who were all of the seed royal, and selected on account of their comeliness to be educated, some as magi and others as pages to Nebuchadnezzar. These were also men of singular piety and faith in God; an evidence that there was previously, even in the king's palace, a remnant of the heavenly seed.

This transportation to Babylon is generally considered as the first period or commencement of the captivity of Judah, and occurred in the year 606-5 before Christ.

Jehoiakim was soon after restored to his throne, on the promise of vassalage to the king of Babylon; but adversity had not improved him. Jeremiah stood in so great danger from him, in consequence of his faithful admonitions, that he was obliged to conceal himself; whilst a message from God (which he sent to the king written on a roll of vellum, containing an invitation to repentance, with awful warnings of judgments if he refused,) was cut to pieces by Jehoiakim with his pen-knife, and cast into the fire. To destroy the scriptures of God,—an act which has been paralleled by modern infidels and apostates,—may justly be considered as the climax of audacious impiety and defiance of Jehovah. In this instance the offender was given up to infatuated counsel; and three years after his return from captivity, he recklessly rebelled against the king of Babylon: upon which the latter immediately laid waste Judea, and again entering Jerusalem slew Jehoiakim,[1] who was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin, called also Coniah.

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[1] The books of Kings and Chronicles are silent as to the manner of Jehoiakim's death; but Josephus states that he was slain by the Chaldeans. (Lib. x. cap. 6.) That his death was violent and inglorious is evident from the prophecy of Jeremiah, "that he should be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the

JEHOIACHIN. [A.A.C. 598.]—The reign of Jehoiachin, like that of Jehoahaz, terminated in three months; a brief space, but sufficiently marked by iniquity. Like his uncle Jehoahaz, he also was deposed and carried away captive by a foreign prince, Nebuchadnezzar; who at the same time sacked Jerusalem, and transported another portion of its inhabitants to Babylon; among whom was the prophet Ezekiel. This event forms a second epoch in the progress of the captivity.

ZEDEKIAH. [A.A.C. 598.]—Nebuchadnezzar set up Mattaniah, another of the sons of Josiah, changing his name to Zedekiah. He followed in the same course of idolatry; and also foolishly rebelled against the king of Babylon: which mad policy the Lord in anger permitted, that he might thereby accomplish, against Judah the punishment he had threatened. (Jer. lii. 3.)

The office of Jeremiah now became more unpopular than ever. The disposition of the Jews was to make an alliance with Egypt; from which country they hoped for protection against the Chaldeans and Assyrians, whom they hated: but the prophet was now moved, not only to denounce all dependance upon Egypt, but also to assure to those, who would go forth and submit to the king of Babylon, deliverance from all those evils which were coming upon their country, and a comfortable asylum in Chaldea.[1] This

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gates of Jerusalem." This prediction evidently refers to the custom of adjudging the funeral rites according to the previous character: see note, page 271.

[1] There were some who took the warning of Jeremiah, and passed over to the Chaldeans; by whom they were kindly received and located among their brethren of the captivity. These are probably that remnant seen by Ezekiel in the vision of the man with the ink-horn,

naturally exposed him to the suspicion of being a traitor, in the pay of Nebuchadnezzar; and he was at length seized, and again cast into prison.

In the ninth year of Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar, who had been for some time occupied with other powers, again invested Jerusalem. The inhabitants, who during the few previous years of impunity had indulged the vain assurance that he would not again attack them, were seized with a momentary panic on his approach. Zedekiah sent to Jeremiah to entreat him to pray for them, and to inquire of the Lord; and, in the hope of acceptance, both he and the rulers now emancipated their brethren whom they had subjected to slavery,—an offence against which the prophets had declaimed. But the answer of God proving unpropitious, the king in a rage threw Jeremiah into a dungeon; and the elders seized again their slaves, and subjected them to their former state of bondage.

The hope of the besieged was once more excited by the intelligence, that Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, was approaching with an army; and their confidence was still more raised on perceiving the Chaldeans withdraw from before Jerusalem; but their spirit only sank so much the more, when they found that the Chaldeans had prevailed, and saw them re-investing the city. Zedekiah was distracted by awful misgivings of conscience, and privately sent for Jeremiah; who had again been scourged, and was now in prison for the third time. He pledged himself to the pro-

(chap. ix.) who was directed to mark the servants of God in their forehead, and secure their safety, before his companions went forth to make havoc of those who remained in Jerusalem. These withdrawn, the salt was also gone, and the city left to fill up the measure of its iniquity.

phet, that he should not be sent back to his miserable dungeon again; but upon the elders demanding it, he with great weakness and treachery surrendered him into their hands, and they a fourth time incarcerated him. In this last instance he was cast into a noisome pit or cess-pool within the dungeon, and there left to perish; but Ebedmelech, an Ethiopian eunuch of rank, and one also of the little remnant of believers, again prevailed with the unstable king in behalf of Jeremiah; upon which he was rescued from the pit, but still kept in confinement in the court of the prison.

In the meanwhile the siege of the city was being pressed with vigour, and the provisions of the besieged having failed, they were reduced to the utmost extremity of suffering; women even boiling their own children and devouring them, in order to satisfy the merciless cravings of hunger. (Lam. ii. 20; iv. 10.) The unhappy king was still vaccilating and irresolute: again he sent privately for Jeremiah; who even now assured him, that if he would go forth and surrender to the king of Babylon, the city should be spared and himself saved; but that if he refused he would be taken prisoner and the city burnt with fire. The power to save Jerusalem and his own life also was thus placed in the hands of Zedekiah; but fear of the reproach to which the step would expose him from his subjects prevailed, notwithstanding the assurance of Jeremiah to the contrary. He ultimately attempted to effect his escape by night; but was overtaken near to Jericho, his companions put to flight, and himself captured and brought before Nebuchadnezzar. The latter commanded all his sons to be slain before his face; he then had his eyes put out; and finally, having loaded him with chains, he had him conveyed to Babylon; where he remained a prisoner till death put an end to his miserable existence.

At the same time that Nebuchadnezzar thus disposed of the king, he put to death all the nobility found in Jerusalem, together with the chief priest, and a multitude of principal and official persons. The small remainder, who were of any consideration, he took away captive to Babylon, leaving the meaner classes to cultivate the land. And after having pillaged the city, he next set fire to it, and reduced it to a heap of ruins.

Thus terminated the kingdom of Judah, in the year 587 before Christ; about 390 years after the revolt of the ten tribes; and about 480 years after the first establishment of the regal government in Israel. The change from the theocratic to the monarchical form of government did not in itself produce any increase in the real stability and prosperity of the people: on the contrary it only served more strikingly to evince the incapacity of man to govern himself, or to effect his own happiness; and that the true glory and peace of nations, as well as of individuals, is dependent on the fear of God. When their kings were themselves ruled by this fear, and the nation, through their instrumentality, brought under the same influence, then they also flourished in their social and political circumstances; but because they departed from this fear, and in the end were dissemblers under their righteous princes, and greedily followed the example of ungodly ones, therefore both sections of this people, Ephraim and Judah, were now reduced to a state of political degradation lower than had been ever experienced, and finally were ejected from the land of promise.

The sin of Judah was aggravated by the greater mercies she had received. Though several of her princes had toward the last been taken off by violence, there had been no change of the dynasty of David; whilst the greater number of the princes of this house were men of piety, and a great blessing to the kingdom. And though God now severely corrected them, he still had purposes of mercy in store for them. He sent a special message to Jeremiah for the encouragement of the prophet himself, and of the remnant of believers; assuring him that his people should yet be planted in their own land and become glorious; and that like as he was now bringing upon them the evil which he had threatened, so that he would hereafter rejoice over them to do them good. It is important however to observe that the period of blessing in this prophecy, principally intended, was to be under the sovereignty of a seed of the house of David; and that by the prophet Ezekiel God expressly declared the prospect of permanent stability and peace to be so far closed, that he would remove the diadem and continue to overturn, until the period of the reign of that same prince of righteousness and peace should be arrived.[1]

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[1] Jer. xxxii. 36, &c. xxxiii. 15, &c. Ezek. xxi. 25—28.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CAPTIVITY AND RESTORATION OF JUDAH.

THE officer left by Nebuchadnezzar to complete the destruction of Jerusalem was specially charged to show kindness to Jeremiah, and to allow him full liberty. Those likewise who had shown him kindness in the hour of his affliction—as Baruch, Ebedmelech, and Ahikam—participated in the prophet's improved circumstances. Gedaliah, the son of the latter, was selected to be governor over those, who were left in Judea to cultivate the soil. He fixed his head-quarters at the western Mizpah, and to him resorted Jeremiah and his friends, and many also who had taken refuge in the neighbouring kingdoms.

This remnant was in no wise benefited by the recent judgments upon the nation. They manifested the most determined resolution not to hearken to the counsel or predictions of Jeremiah ; and whilst they still buoyed themselves up with the hope of becoming independent of Babylon, they adhered to their idolatries and superstitions, in a spirit of avowed and desperate defiance of Jehovah. Their fate however was singularly calamitous.

Among those who had repaired to Mizpah was a prince of the seed royal, named Ishmael, with a small party of Ammonites. He was a wicked and abandoned person, and, instigated by the king of Ammon, he contrived by simulation and treachery to murder Gedaliah and a considerable portion of his followers, and to effect his escape to Rabbah.[1] The remainder of the Jews, having chosen one Johanan for their leader, now resolved to pass into Egypt, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of Jeremiah; whom, though they heeded him not, they nevertheless compelled to accompany them. But there they were speedily overtaken by the punishment of which the prophet had forewarned them; for Nebuchadnezzar soon after invaded Egypt, and having defeated Pharaoh Hophra, and taken him prisoner, put to death the refugee Jews whom he found there, with the exception of about 700 persons, whom he carried away with him to Babylon. This happened in the fifth year from the destruction of Jerusalem; after which we hear no more of Jeremiah. It is most probable, however, that he now joined his brethren at Babylon and died there; it being difficult otherwise to account for the preservation of his writings, which relate to this period.

The Jewish captives were treated with great rigor, (excepting those who had gone over to the Chaldeans previous to the capture of Jerusalem,) insomuch that the prophets among them, and especially Jeremiah, denounced for this the woe of Babylon.

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[1] For this atrocity the destruction of Ammon was announced by Ezekiel; (cap. xxv.) who predicted also that Rabbah their capital should become a stable for flocks; a prophecy which has since been literally fulfilled.

For throughout, although God has made use of heathen powers to chastise his heritage, he has been exceeding jealous in their behalf, and punished those powers, when they have betrayed malignity, or triumphed over his chosen. After awhile, however, circumstances arose, through the providence of God, which tended to mitigate the condition of the captives, and to bring the Jewish religion into greater prominence: for it appears to have been a part of the beneficent counsel of God, not only to correct and purify them by affliction in the head-quarters of idolatry itself; but also to make them a blessing to the heathen, which they had failed of proving when in their own land.

It has been named in the former chapter, that Daniel the prophet, who was of the seed royal, was among those carried captive to Babylon in the time of Jehoiakim. It pleased God to give him, and certain of his companions, great favour in the eyes of the king of Babylon, who, discovering great wisdom in them, consulted with them and took their advice, in preference to that of the astrologers. Soon after this the king had a remarkable dream, which, though it made a lively impression upon him at the time, was obliterated from his memory as soon as he awoke. He nevertheless demanded of his diviners and astrologers to supply him at the same time with the facts of the dream and with an interpretation; and when they remonstrated with him upon the unreasonableness of his request, he threw them into prison, and commanded that all the magi should be put to death.[1] Daniel and his companions, being numbered among the magi of the empire, were necessarily included in the decree; upon which he went boldly to the king, and demanded a respite for the magi; promising that at the expiration of the time he would, with the help of God, both give the dream and the interpretation. And God, to the great amazement of Nebuchadnezzar, enabled Daniel to accomplish this: whereupon he was made prefect over the province of Babylon, and chief of the magi; and his three companions were likewise appointed to situations of eminence. Thus was the phrensy of the despot overruled for the making manifest the glory of Jehovah throughout the empire of Babylonia.

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[1] Such acts of cruel and capricious tyranny were not uncommon

Another gust of furious tyranny in this monarch was soon after overruled in like manner by the Almighty. Nebuchadnezzar, having erected a colossal image of gold, commanded all his subjects, on the day of its dedication, to worship it, threatening to cast those who should refuse into a furnace. The three companions of Daniel were informed against as recusants, and immediately summoned before the king; who, upon hearing them express their confidence in Jehovah, and their calm determination to endure punishment rather than conform to idolatry, fell into a paroxysm of rage, and ordering the furnace to be heated seven times hotter than usual, commanded them instantly to be cast into it. But God did not desert his faithful martyrs. Whilst

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among the despots of the east. Herodotus relates that Astyages, king of the Medes, put to death all those who had given him erroneous advice, as the event proved, in regard to Cyrus. (Herod. Clio, cap. 128.) And Xerxes, when constructing a bridge over the Hellespont, and a storm destroyed it, ordered the superintendants of the work to be beheaded, and the sea to be scourged. (Ibid. lib. vii.)

Nebuchadnezzar gazed on the furnace, expecting to see his victims devoured by it, he was amazed on beholding them walking about unhurt, attended by a fourth person, whose majestic form and appearance bespoke him to be divine. He immediately called to them to come forth, as servants of the most high God ; on which they obeyed, and the whole assembly witnessed that they had received no injury. Upon this the king gave praise to God, who had thus frustrated his word, and so eminently delivered his servants; and promoted them to higher authority.

A further extraordinary dispensation of God toward this prince had the effect of greatly humbling his pride, and drawing from him a larger measure of acknowledgment and praise. It was previously intimated to him, by another remarkable dream, expounded to him by Daniel, that he should be bereaved of reason and rendered brutish during the space of seven years, for the purpose of convincing him of the sovereignty of God; all which came to pass. We have no mention of Nebuchadnezzar after this; but the terms of a manifesto, which he published throughout his dominions on his restoration to sanity of mind, and in which he sets forth the above-mentioned circumstances, would lead to the conclusion that he was in the end converted to the true God. (See Dan. iv. 28—37.)

[A.A.C. 561.]—Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by Evil-merodach, as he is called in scripture; who, according to Jewish tradition, had administered the affairs of Nebuchadnezzar during his malady, and conducted himself so improperly, that the king, on his restoration, threw him into prison; where he formed a friendship with the captive Jehoiachin,[1] who had now been a prisoner at Babylon for thirty-seven years, and had outlived his still more unhappy successor, Zedekiah. Certain it is that Evil-merodach, on his becoming king, released Jehoiachin from confinement, and treated him according to his rank for the remainder of his days.

[A. A. C. 541.]—At the end of twenty years Belshazzar, another son of Nebuchadnezzar, succeeded to the throne; during whose reign the influence of Daniel declined, and the Jews experienced the greatest pressure from their captivity. They were however speedily relieved from it by Darius, the king of the Medians, who made war on Belshazzar; and having, by a stratagem of his nephew Cyrus, obtained possession of Babylon, he slew Belshazzar, and annexed his kingdom to his own dominions.

[A.A.C. 537.]—The virtues of Daniel were not unknown to Darius. He divided his empire into one hundred and twenty provinces, over each of which was a prefect or governor, who were all of them subordinate to three superior princes, of which three Daniel was appointed chief; and the king found him possessed of so excellent a spirit, that he purposed to place him alone over the entire kingdom. But these extraordinary marks of favour drew upon Daniel the envy and jealousy of the other princes, and they conspired together to effect his destruction. It is recorded that they despaired of discovering any thing whereof to accuse him in his government, (an unequivocal testimony to his uprightness;) but that knowing his firmness and consistency in the alone worship of Jehovah, (a testimony no less creditable to his religion,) they laid a snare for him in this matter.

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[1] Jerome, Comm. in Isaiah xiv. 19.

It was a maxim of the Medo-Persian empire, that no law, confirmed or signed by the king, could be altered;—a maxim apparently based upon the principle, that the king was infallible; which the revocation or revision of a decree would seem to contradict. The princes therefore repaired to the king and informed him, that they had determined to establish a royal statute, that if any man should prefer a petition to any other than the king himself, whether God or man, during the space of thirty days, he should be cast into the den of lions,—apparently kept for the punishment of criminals. The proposition flattered the vanity of Darius; blinded by which, he signed the impious decree, and it became law. Daniel was vigilantly watched; and as he sought no concealment, was speedily discovered on his knees toward Jerusalem; on which the princes hastened to report him to Darius, as one who had violated the decree, and who evidently despised the authority and majesty of the king. But the effect upon Darius was different from what they had anticipated. He immediately perceived his own error, and the craft and malice of the enemies of Daniel; and it must doubtless have been very mortifying to discover, that whilst these men had been extolling him as a god, they had in reality been only using him as a tool to serve their own malignant purposes. He however dissembled his resentment for the present, and laboured assiduously for the remainder of the day to contrive some counteracting decree; but in vain: his counsellors, instead of assisting, were urgent to press its execution; and the same evening therefore Daniel was cast to the lions.

Darius had some impression that God would preserve Daniel; but he nevertheless passed a sleepless and anxious night; and at break of day arose from his couch and hastened to the den. There, to his great joy, his ear was greeted by Daniel; who, in words which gently reproached the king for his injustice, informed him, that God had indeed interposed and shut the lions' mouths, so that he was unhurt. Upon this Darius ordered him to be drawn up, and at the same time caused his accusers to be cast into the den in his stead, together with their wives and children, who were all immediately destroyed.

[A.A.C. 536.]—In the following year Darius died, and was succeeded by his nephew, the renowned Cyrus; by whom indeed Babylonia was more immediately conquered, and who added very considerably to the dominions of his uncle. About two centuries previous to this, Cyrus, like Josiah, had been specified by name, by the Spirit of prophecy, as the person whom God would raise up for the deliverance of his people from captivity.[1] Of the circumstances which induced this prince to shew such particular favour to the Jews we are not informed. Josephus states indeed, that Daniel shewed him the above prophecy concerning a prince of his name;[2] and it is highly probable that the influence of Daniel, who was eminently prosperous in this reign,[3] had its weight with him. God at all events inclined the heart of Cyrus to restore the Jews to their own land, and to rebuild their temple; wherefore in the first year of his reign he issued a proclamation, declaring his intention to rebuild the temple, permitting any of the

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[1] Isa. xliv. 28; xlv. 1—5.

[2] Jos. Ant. lib. xi.

[3] Dan. vi. 28.

Jews throughout his empire to return into Judea, and providing for their transport and subsistence by the way. The proclamation caused great joy among the Jews; and due preparations having been made, such as chose to avail themselves of the king's permission set forth under the conduct of Zerubbabel, a prince of the house of David, and Joshua their high priest; and being escorted by the troops of Cyrus, they came safely back to their own land,—which by a remarkable providence had remained unoccupied, so that they had no tenants to eject. They brought back with them 5400 gold and silver vessels that had been taken from Jerusalem, and now were restored by Cyrus; and were enriched also with contributions from the Gentiles, and offerings for the intended temple.[1]

The first thing the Jews did was to erect an altar to the Lord, on which they again offered sacrifices; and in the second year of Cyrus they laid the foundations of the temple with great ceremony and mingled demonstrations of joy and regret; for the aged men, who remembered the former temple, wept aloud when they beheld the contracted dimensions of what was now designed.

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[1] The number that returned has been deemed inconsiderable. It amounted only to 42,360, together with 245 singers, and 7337 servants, making a total of 49,942; among whom were several who were of the ten tribes, who attached themselves to Judah, and became identified with them. The number however is *comparatively* large, considering their condition from warfare, pestilence and famine, at the time of their overthrow; which had so reduced them, that the whole nation was likened, by a striking poetical figure, to the fragments or bones only of a victim, already consumed by one wild beast, and subsequently gnawed and destroyed by another :—" First the king of Assyria hath devoured him; and last this Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, hath broken his bones." (Jer. l. 17.) Their great reduction may be more accurately judged of by the total number of captives, enumerated at the three several epochs of their captivity, which only amounted to 14,600. (2 Kings xxiv. 14; Jer. lii. 28—30.) Their increase must therefore have been considerable. Nevertheless many remained behind; some because they were indisposed to commence their fortunes anew; and others, as Daniel, because they probably considered that they could better serve the interests of their country in Babylonia, where they were enjoying considerable political influence.

But the work, which appeared thus auspiciously begun, was destined to meet with many interruptions. In the first instance, the Cutheans and other people from Assyria, who had been located in the territory of Ephraim by Esarhaddon, proposed to unite in building the temple with the Jews; not under pretence (as has been alleged,) that they were Israelites, but that they worshipped the same God. (Ezra iv. 2.) For when these people were first colonized in Palestine, they were greatly harassed by lions and beasts of prey; and concluding that it was owing to their neglect of the deity of the country, Esarhaddon sent to them a captive priest of Ephraim, for the purpose of initiating them in the religion of their predecessors. Considering the apostacy and corruptness of the priests of Ephraim themselves, it is not probable that one taken at random from among them should himself possess the true knowledge of God; and it is not surprising therefore, that pious Jews should have regarded with jealousy or abhorrence a claim to identity of worship from men, who had only engrafted a spurious semblance of the Mosaical ceremonial upon the idolatry previously entertained by them.[1] The determined refusal however of their alliance by the Jews called forth the hostility and rancour of the Assyrian colonists, who openly interfered to prevent their building; and by means of hired agents at the Persian court succeeded in stopping the usual supply of materials and money. The Jews were thereby discouraged, and desisted from the work; and their circumstances remained in this precarious condition during the remainder of the reign of Cyrus.

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[1] It is however worthy of remark, that the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses, was introduced among this people, at the period referred to; a copy of it is still preserved among the Samaritans, who at this day reside at Naplous, in the vicinity of Mount Gerizim. They pretend that their copy is the original one, and written by Abischa, a great-grandson of Aaron, whose name and genealogy are affixed to it. It is written in the *ancient* Hebrew character, (not the Chaldee, as the Jewish copies,) and has no vowel points; which the Samaritans re-

[A.A.C. 520.]—On Darius the Second succeeding to the throne, the prophets Haggai and Zechariah were moved of God to reprove the Jews for their neglect, and to exhort them by various promises to arise again and build; encouraged by which, Zerubbabel and Joshua resumed the work, and the people cooperated zealously. As soon however as they commenced the walls of the new city, Tatnai, the king's governor over the tribes between the Mediterranean and Euphrates, came with other princes and demanded, by what authority they presumed to build; and doubting the statement of the Jews, that they were empowered by a decree of Cyrus, he forwarded a representation of the matter to Darius, praying that search might be made to ascertain the fact.

The decree of Cyrus was discovered among the imperial archives; upon which Darius not only confirmed it, but enlarged the privileges of the Jews—directing Tatnai to supply them out of the annual tribute with the means of building, also with money

gard as an *addition* made to the Law by the Jews, and therefore contrary to the precept, "Ye shall not add," &c. It contains certain manifest corruptions; but is on the whole a most valuable check upon, and confirmation of, the integrity of the Hebrew Pentateuch. They rejected all but the Pentateuch, because the remaining books refer to Mount Zion, instead of Mount Gerizim, as the proper place of worship. (See Dr. Kennicott's 2nd Dissert. p. 313.)

for sacrifices; and threatening those with death who should dare to obstruct the work.[1] The interference of Tatnai and his companions was thus overruled for the advancement of the work and the greater security of the Jews; and the temple was completed on the third day of the twelfth month, Adar, in the sixth year of Darius II. It was dedicated with great joy; but necessarily, from their reduced circumstances, with greatly diminished sumptuousness; the sacrifices being now only 100 bullocks, 200 rams, 400 lambs, and 12 goats as a trespass offering for the whole twelve tribes, who were affectionately remembered.

[A.A.C. 486—464.]—In the reign of Xerxes, and again in that of Artaxerxes, the adversaries of the Jews endeavoured once more to frustrate their proceedings, and wrote to the latter monarch to excite his jealousy against them; pointing out to him, that if Jerusalem should be rebuilt and fortified, the communication between Cœlo-Syria and Phenicia would at their pleasure be obstructed, (1 Esdras ii.) and reminding him of the rebellious character of the Jews in former times.[2] They succeeded in the present instance, and returned from the Persian court armed with authority to put a stop to further proceedings.

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[1] Ezra vi. 1—12. There is no evidence of the exact date of this decree: it was probably in the third year of Darius, or A.A.C. 517. (Compare Ezra iv. 24; v. 1—3, &c.)

[2] I have followed, in the history of the captivity, the arrangement of the Rev. G. Townsend; who principally conforms to the chronology of Dr. Hales. But this portion of the scripture narrative is involved in some perplexity, and I am not fully satisfied that the arrangement here adopted is correct. The great difficulty is again the uncertainty, which of the monarchs mentioned in profane history is the Ahasuerus of holy writ; Astyages, Cambyses, Darius Hystaspes, Xerxes and Artaxerxes have all been fixed upon. According to Dr. Jennings the word *Ahasuerus* is compounded of two Persick words, signifying the great *chief* or *prince;* and he supposes it to be a title common to the Medo-Persian kings in general, and not a proper name: in which case *all* may have been so called.

[A.A.C. 458.]—A favourable change however once more succeeded in the circumstances of the Jews; encouraged by which, Ezra, a Levite of great piety, visited Babylon, and obtained from Artaxerxes a further and munificent decree, with supplies of money, and additional vessels of gold and silver, as offerings from the king himself. He likewise permitted any of the Jews who still remained captive to return with Ezra to their own land; upon which about 1500 males of Judah and Benjamin, together with about 270 priests and Levites, offered themselves; which with their women and children would form a company of nearly 5000 souls. A more important authority given to Ezra at this time was that of appointing magistrates and governors, acquainted with the law of God, over all the people west of the Euphrates, who were to teach the laws of God and the king, and to punish those who refused conformity.[1]

On the supposition that the Artaxerxes of Ezra and the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther are identical, (for which conclusion forcible reasons may be assigned,) it has justly been inferred that Ezra was encouraged to undertake his mission to Babylon, and so greatly favoured in the result, by the circumstance that the queen of Artaxerxes was then a Jewess. For Vashti, the previous queen of that monarch, having been publicly disgraced, the nobles counselled, that, in order to supply her place, search should be made throughout all the dominions of the king for the most beautiful and accomplished females; and that the one who most pleased him should become his consort; upon which the choice of Artaxerxes fell upon Esther, called also Hadassah; who, having lost her parents in her infancy, had been adopted, and strictly educated in the Jewish faith, by an elder cousin named Mordecai, to whom she rendered the obedience and reverence due to a father.

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[1] The exact date of this decree cannot be ascertained, any more than that of the former; but as Ezra informs us that the Jews who were to accompany him congregated at the river Ahava on the first day of the seventh year of Artaxerxes, the decree would probably have been made in the beginning of the sixth year of that monarch.

[A.A.C. 453.]—Nevertheless, during the elevation of Esther an event occurred which threatened, not only to put a stop to the rebuilding of Jerusalem, but to effect the utter extermination of the Jews. The circumstances are briefly as follow.—

Mordecai, the foster-parent of the queen, had rendered himself obnoxious to the principal favourite of Artaxerxes, named Haman, who, according to Jewish tradition, was a descendant of Agag, the king of the Amalekites, slain by Samuel. Mordecai appears to have been in fault, having refused to render to Haman the honours commanded by his sovereign; and it is not improbable that other Jews in the city Shushan,[1] influenced by his example, had likewise shewn themselves wanting in deference. Haman at all events artfully represented to the king the contumacious and dangerous spirit of the whole race, and proposed their utter destruction; offering himself to pay a sum into the king's treasury equivalent to the tribute which would thereby be lost. The king, with the recklessness of despotic tyranny, granted Haman's request, and also excused him the tribute;

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[1] Shushan and Ecbatana were the summer residences of the Medo-Persian kings, and Babylon the winter residence.

and a decree was immediately issued into all the provinces of the empire, in the name and bearing the seal of Artaxerxes but dictated by Haman,[1] in which a certain day was appointed, (eleven months from the date of the decree,) whereon it should be lawful for any to fall upon the Jews, and destroy them and seize their property.

The queen's nation was not as yet known at the court; but hearing of the affliction into which the Jews were plunged, she communicated with Mordecai, through a confidential eunuch, and by him was informed of all particulars, and urged to intercede with the king without delay. Esther upon this went in to Artaxerxes as a suppliant; who having prevented her request with the assurance that it should be fulfilled even to the half of his kingdom, she invited him together with Haman to a banquet; in the course of which she informed the king, before Haman, of the blow aimed at herself and people through his malice. Transported with rage, the king rushed forth, in the first instance, into the garden; and finding, on his return to the pavilion, that Haman, who had stood up to supplicate for his life to the queen, was fallen into a swoon upon the couch on which she was reclined, he exclaimed, "Will he force the queen also before me in the house?" The hint was understood by the officious chamberlains, who immediately strangled Haman; after which his body was suspended on a gallows, which he had himself prepared for Mordecai.

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[1] The manner of the preparation of this decree, as related in the Book of Esther, iii. 12—15, renders it highly probable, that the decrees of Cyrus and Darius in behalf of the Jews were drawn up by some of that nation. The documents themselves bear strong internal evidence of Jewish composition.

Mordecai, whose relationship and services to the queen were now made known, was immediately invested with full authority to counteract the decree obtained by Haman. Owing to the law of the Medes and Persians, already noticed, it could not be altered or withdrawn; but a counteracting edict was prepared, and forwarded into the provinces by express, granting to the Jews permission to assemble together on the day appointed for their destruction, to defend themselves with arms against those that would assault them, and to take the families and property of the slain for a spoil. The result was, that when the time arrived none dared to attack the Jews; and a day of retribution being next permitted to the Jews against all who had menaced them, they slew 800 persons in the city Shushan, besides the ten sons of Haman whom they hanged; and 75,000 persons perished by their hands in the provinces. Esther, at whose instance this retribution was obtained, has not escaped the odium of being considered sanguinary and vindictive, and apparently not without some reason. In no instance, however, would the Jews meddle with the property of the slain; being satisfied with this tremendous vengeance on the *persons* of their enemies.

Mordecai was next made the chief prince, or grand vizir of the empire, and many other Jews were promoted to places of authority and honour. And so striking were the circumstances of this wonderful drama, and so manifestly was the providence of God exhibited therein, that many of the gentiles became Jews, and joined themselves to the God of Israel; who thus rendered them in their captivity a blessing to their friends and terrible to their enemies.

In commemoration of these extraordinary events the Jews instituted at the time a feast, which is called *the feast of Purim*, (i. e. *the lots*, because Haman had determined on their destruction by the lot;) which has continued to be observed down to the present day;—a powerful testimony in confirmation of the narrative in the book of Esther; since no man can show any other origin of that festival, nor any other period at which it first began to be observed, than what is stated in the sacred record.[1]

Notwithstanding however the favour in which the Jews were now held in general, and the large powers with which Ezra in particular was armed for the renovation of that people as a nation, their affairs did not prosper in Judea. The power of the kings of Persia was now becoming so much weakened, that the provinces at the extremity of the empire were often in a state of insubordination, and treated the royal mandates with contempt, when they were opposed to their interests or prejudices. Of this Ezra had a specimen on his journey back from Babylon. He had expressed his confidence of the protection of Jehovah so strongly before the king, that he was ashamed afterwards to request a military escort. He was consequently exposed to frequent danger from the hostility of the inhabitants of the provinces through which he passed, and from the powerful bands of freebooters that infested those countries; so that he was between three and four months in performing the expedition. Arrived in Judea, he found his commission to appoint governors over the neighbouring powers, and to draw subsidies from them, of no avail: Sanballat, a Moabite chief, (as is supposed) dwelling at Samaria, Tobiah, an Ammonite, one of the king's governors, and Geshem, an Arabian, another governor, openly opposed him; and at length put a stop to the work of rebuilding, by breaking down the wall of the city and burning it with fire.

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[1] The modern Jews observe the feast of Purim by a strict fast on the 13th of the month Adar, and by feasting and great rejoicing on the two following days. The book of Esther is read in the synagogue; and whensoever the name of Haman occurs, the assembly testify their indignation by clapping the hands, stamping with the feet, and crying, "Let his memory perish."

[A.A.C. 445.]—Among those Jews, however, who were raised to eminent stations in the court of Artaxerxes, was Nehemiah, who became the king's cupbearer. He was a man of great piety and ability; and having heard of the affliction still endured by his brethren at Jerusalem, he obtained of the king permission to visit them, and was also appointed governor of Judea for the period of his absence. Immediately on his arrival he convened the principal Jews, and having shewn them his authority from the king, and the encouragement he had received from God, he induced them once more to engage in building.

He commenced first upon the wall; and finding himself menaced by Sanballat and his allies, he caused one half of the people to keep watch with arms in their hands, whilst the other half engaged in the work; having weapons also at hand, which they might seize and join their comrades with, in case of an alarm. At night also one half kept an armed watch over the work, whilst the other half reposed on the ground with weapons by them. Sanballat and his allies, finding that he could not surprise the Jews, laid various snares for the purpose of assassinating Nehemiah; but by the mercy of God all his devices were frustrated, and in the short space of fifty-two days the wall was finished and the gates set up.

Having thus rebuilt the walls, truly "in troublous times," (as Daniel had predicted;) and appointed as governor his own brother Hanani, together with Hananiah, a son of Zerubbabel, (1 Chron. iii. 19.) he left them and returned to Babylon, according to his engagement with the king.

[A.A.C. 433.]—In the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, Nehemiah obtained permission to visit Jerusalem again, and resumed his authority as governor. He found that numerous evils and disorders had crept in during his absence. The proper observance of the Sabbath had been greatly neglected; the richer Jews had lent money upon usurious interest to their poorer brethren, and upon their inability to pay had reduced them to bondage, disregarding the year of release; false prophets had again appeared among them; many also had intermarried with the heathen around, and if they had not actually set up idols, had conformed to their abominations and evil practices,—a convincing proof that their captivity had not cured them altogether of the spirit of idolatry.[1] These and similar evils appear from Malachi to have manifested themselves, more or less, during the whole term that had elapsed since the return from captivity. From a hint given by Nehemiah it would seem, that their own governors, and the officers and servants attached to them, had oppressed the people;[2] and Ezra, after his return from Babylon, had had to contend against intermarriages with the heathen, and for a while had suppressed the practice. When these things are considered, we cease to wonder at the slow progress made toward the completion of the city, and the political settlement of the Jews; or that God should have been provoked, during this period, not only to vex them by impediments from their neighbours, but also to send them seasons of dearth, inundation, and other afflictions,—as we learn from the prophet was the case.

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[1] Ezra ix. 10. Malachi ii. 11.

[2] Neh. v. 15. From the same place the inference is obvious that Zerubbabel had long since been dead, and that more than one governor had succeeded him.

God, however, raised them up, in Nehemiah, a suitable deliverer. He applied himself firmly on his return to the reformation of abuses, having no respect of persons, either for rich or poor. The high priest had allied himself to Tobiah, the Ammonite; and the latter was actually located in the apartments of the priests in the temple. His grandson Manasseh had likewise married a daughter of Sanballat. And these and others of the chief men, who were circumstanced in like manner, greatly obstructed Nehemiah in his proceedings, holding treasonable correspondence with Sanballat and the heathen chieftains; and would more than once have compassed the destruction of Nehemiah, but for the prudence with which God endowed him. Nehemiah without ceremony turned out Tobiah and his furniture, and purified the apartments he had occupied; and upon Manasseh refusing to separate from the heathen, he degraded him from the priesthood and banished him: upon which the latter went to Samaria, and promoted the building of a rival temple; which afterwards drew many of those Jews to settle in that city, who desired to live under a more lax system than the Mosaic ritual. By these determined proceedings against the more eminent offenders, and by anathematizing others who were recusant, (the first instance recorded of the use of this spiritual weapon,) he chased away the evil, and prevailed on them also to liberate their Jewish brethren from slavery.

It contributed materially to strengthen the hands of Nehemiah, that the people expressed a desire to know the contents of the holy scriptures, which had happily been preserved during the captivity; in consequence of which Ezra appointed stated opportunities, in which he both read and expounded them.[1] By this means the people were more clearly convinced of the deviations which they had made from the holy law. The services of the temple were now also regulated, and the feasts revived, especially the feast of tabernacles, which had not been so solemnly observed since the days of Joshua. He also enforced a strict observance of the Sabbath-day, restraining the people from buying and selling and from servile work, and causing the gates to be shut upon the previous evening against the Tyrian merchants and pedlars, who were chased away by his guards when found hovering upon the Sabbath under the walls. Finally he engaged the people in a solemn covenant and oath to observe the law of Moses, and keep all the statutes thereof; nor should it be omitted, as a proof of the patriotism and disinterestedness of this upright governor, that he refused to burden the people with any taxes for his own maintenance, but on the contrary was at a great expense himself in order to maintain others.

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[1] At this period Ezra is concluded to have revised the Canon of the scriptures,—to have multiplied copies of them,—and to have written the Chaldee Paraphrase or Targum; which became necessary in consequence of the people, during their residence in Babylon, having greatly lost the pure Hebrew.

The past history of this people, however, has evinced, that frequently as solemn compacts with God have been entered into, and reforms effected, they have only served to render more manifest the corruptness and infirmity of human nature. No religious bonds, neither legal nor political restraints, —however excellent in themselves, or needed for the protection and encouragement of the righteous portion of society,—can infuse into the heart a relish for spiritual things, or awaken it to a just sense of its eternal interests. Thus, in the latter part of Nehemiah's government, notwithstanding his continued vigilance, the spiritual condition of the nation was far from satisfactory: we learn from Malachi, that, though there was much of outward decorum, heartlessness, formality, and gross hypocrisy nevertheless prevailed. Divorce was practised to a lamentable extent; whilst adultery, perjury, oppression, and even sorcery, are sharply rebuked. Yet do we learn, from the same infallible source, that there was, as usual, a *remnant* "that feared the Lord, and spake often one to another," concerning those things which were pleasing and acceptable to him. (Mal. iii. 16.)

CHAPTER IX.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE HIGH PRIESTS.

The Family of Jehoiarib.

THE civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the Jews being finally settled under the government of Nehemiah, their re-establishment in Palestine may now be considered as completed. Their present condition, however, both in a religious and a political respect, differed materially from that which they had enjoyed previous to the captivity.

First may be noticed the gift of prophecy, which had previously been vouchsafed to the patriarchs, judges and kings, and even to the seventy elders, whilst the nation remained entire; but was withdrawn from the rulers after the schism of the ten tribes, and restricted to the prophets, who were at all times raised up among them. At the period upon which we now enter that gift was *altogether* withdrawn, and the prophecy and vision sealed up; there being no Urim and Thummim, no Shechinah, nor any other manifest token of the divine presence.

In the next place, they were no longer an independent people, but in a state of subjection, and under tribute, to the tyrants of the Persian empire. Of this fact the words of Nehemiah himself are sufficient evidence: "Behold, we are *servants* this day; and for the land that thou gavest unto our fathers to eat the fruit thereof, and the good thereof, behold, we are *servants* in it; and it yieldeth much increase unto the kings whom thou hast set over us because of our sins: also *they have dominion over our bodies and over our cattle*, at their pleasure, *and we are in great distress*." (Neh. ix. 36, 37.)

Thirdly, they were no longer governed by the family of David. Zerubbabel, under whom they returned from captivity, was a prince of that house; and we have seen that one of his sons was appointed joint governor by Nehemiah with his own brother, during the period of his return to Babylon. Nehemiah is also supposed to have been of the same family, but without sufficient evidence. After his death however, no other governor was appointed in his place; but a Sanhedrin or council having been previously constituted for the regulation of ecclesiastical matters, under the presidency of the high priest,[1] the pontiffs gradually assumed the exercise of authority in civil affairs, and became virtually the governors.

The above circumstances, together with their precarious and unsettled condition throughout the whole period down to their next ejectment from Palestine, and the want of permanency of possession which that event indicated, render manifest that the mass of the prophecies, which speak of a restoration from captivity, must refer to a very different state of things, and consequently a different period, from that now under consideration.

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[1] This senate is stated to have been revived by Ezra and Nehemiah, and to have consisted of one hundred and twenty members. But after the death of Simon the Just, it was reduced to seventy, together with *two* superiors; the one of whom was called *Nassi*, or President, and the other *Ab-beth-din*, or father of the Sanhedrin.

[A.A.C. 373—340.]—Jonathan, or Johanan, brother of that Manasseh whom Nehemiah banished, had now succeeded to the priesthood. Hitherto it had descended regularly in the family of that Joshua who returned with Zerubbabel, and who was himself lineally descended from Jehoiarib, of the first class appointed by David. (2 Chron. xxiv. 7.) But Bagoses, the prefect of Syria, having contracted an intimacy with Jeshua, another brother of Johanan, deposed the latter and set up Jeshua in his place. Johanan revenged his wrong by assassinating his brother Jeshua in the inner court of the temple; and Bagoses, hastening to ascertain the fact, was refused admittance by the priests. This afforded him too just an occasion of severely reflecting upon their hypocrisy; who scrupled not to let a murderer defile their sacred courts, whilst they denied entrance to him merely because he was a Gentile. He, however, forced his way forward, and having assured himself of the deed, punished the Jews by the imposition of a tax on every sacrifice they offered.

When Artaxerxes Mnemon succeeded to the throne of Persia, he remitted the fine imposed by Bagoses. But Ochus, his successor, being offended with the Jews, for having aided the Phenicians (as is supposed) with whom he was at war, marched into Judea, captured Jericho, and sent away part of the inhabitants into Egypt, and the remainder to the coasts of the Caspian sea.

[A.A.C. 339.]—Jonathan died in the 18th year of Ochus, and was succeeded by his son Jaddua; during whose pontificate Alexander the Great wrested the empire of Persia from Darius Codomannus, who had become its sovereign. Whilst Alexander was pursuing his victorious career, the Jews fell under his displeasure for assisting the Tyrians with supplies, whom he was besieging; and he marched upon Jerusalem for the purpose of taking vengeance upon the inhabitants. Jaddua, hearing of his approach, proclaimed a fast; during the observance of which he was directed in a vision to go in his pontifical robes at the head of the priests and meet the conqueror. They accordingly went forth in procession, accompanied by a multitude of the people attired in white; and Alexander no sooner beheld the pontiff, than he was struck with awe, and offered him religious adoration. Both Greeks and Jews marvelled at his conduct; and on his friend Parmenio inquiring of him the reason of it, he declared that he had had a remarkable dream at Dios, in which a man, who resembled the high priest both in person and habiliments, promised him the conquest of Persia, and encouraged him to undertake it. He now entered Jerusalem as a friend, offered sacrifice to the God of Israel, and having promised to Jaddua any privileges which he might demand for his countrymen, he only required that they should enjoy complete religious toleration, be governed by their own laws, and be exempted from tribute every seventh year, when forbidden to till their land;—a proof that the septennary Sabbaths were now observed.[1]

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[1] Jaddua is said to have shown Alexander at this time the prophecy of Daniel concerning the rough goat of Grecia, which he applied

Alexander invited the Jews to enlist in his army; upon which many, heedless of the peculiar temptations and difficulties to which they, as Jews, would become exposed, suffered themselves to be enrolled: but being soon after called upon to assist with the other troops in rebuilding the temple of Belus at Babylon, (which city Alexander had made his head-quarters,) and refusing to comply, they were ordered to be compelled by tortures. They endured them however with exemplary fortitude, preferring death rather than to defile their conscience,—a proof that they had at length attained to juster views of the evil of idolatry, and were unacquainted with the modern latitudinarian sophistry, which discerns no evil in giving countenance by military service to the abominations of heathenism or of superstition. Alexander was struck with their invincible constancy to their religion, and pardoned the remainder; but dismissed them from his army. He likewise ordered numerous victims to be offered to the God of the Jews on his own behalf.

The Samaritans, observing the great favour shewn toward the Jews, petitioned Alexander to grant them the like immunities, on the ground that they also were Hebrews. Their claim was deferred, to allow opportunity for inquiry; on which the Samaritans, sensible that investigation of their claim was virtu-

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to this prince. In the History of the Jews, contained in the Family Library, the whole is treated as a romantic fiction. The learned author however admits, that Alexander transplanted 100,000 Jews to his new colony in Egypt, and bestowed on them equal privileges and immunities with the Macedonians; and it is difficult to account for this extraordinary distinction of the Jews above all other people, but on the ground of some such fact. The account is contained in Josephus, derived from authorities which are since lost.

ally a rejection of it, and unable to endure the mortification, set fire to the house of Andromachus, Alexander's governor, who perished in the flames. This so enraged Alexander, that he put to death all who were immediately implicated in the tumult, expelled the rest of the inhabitants from Samaria, and planted a colony of Macedonians in their room.[1] The Samaritans upon this retired to Shechem, a city at the foot of Mount Gerizim, which they enlarged, and rendered it their metropolis, whence the Jews called them also Shechemites.[2]

[A.A.C. 329—322.]—Shortly after this Alexander entirely vanquished Darius, and put an end to the Persian empire; and six years afterwards died himself at Babylon. It is unnecessary for the purposes of this history to describe all the various divisions and changes, by which his empire was scattered, after his death, through the contentions of his generals: it may suffice to observe, that, in the division, Palestine, which fell at first to the share of Laomedon, was wrested from him by Ptolemy, who became possessed also of Egypt, Lybia, and Arabia; and that Syria, Armenia, and the countries beyond the Euphrates, fell to Seleucus. Between these two powers there was frequent warfare; and as Palestine lay between their dominions, their quarrels became a source of as frequent annoyance to the Jews.

[A.A.C. 321—291.]—After the death of Jaddua, his son Onias having succeeded to the pontificate, the Jews drew on themselves the hostility of Ptolemy, because, from a scrupulous sense of their oath of allegiance to Laomedon, they remained faithful to his interests;—a fact which shews, together with what has just been related of them in regard to the temple of Belus, that there were at this period some rays of light emitted from them among the Gentiles. There had however grown up among them, since the return from Babylon, a strong tendency to carry their principles to a fanatical extreme; which was especially evinced in regard to the observance of the Sabbath rest. For Ptolemy besieged Jerusalem, and happening to make an assault upon them on that day, they held it unlawful to defend themselves, (though self-defence, if it be lawful on any other day, must needs be a justifiable work of necessity on the Sabbath,) and they consequently became an easy prey to the assailant. Ptolemy punished them severely, carrying away 100,000 captives into Egypt, and large numbers also into Lybia and Cyrene; which shews how considerably they had multiplied since the time of Nehemiah.

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[1] Quint. Curt. lib. iv. c. 8, 21. Euseb. Chron. 177.

[2] The modern Jews call them כותיים *Couthiim*, i.e. *Cutheans*; and Josephus observes also that *Σαμαρειται* is the Greek name of those whom the Jews call *Χουθαιοι*.

Though God gave no countenance to their fanaticism, in regard to their refusal to fight on the Sabbath, but invariably, upon such occasions, delivered them into the hands of their enemies; yet, when a sound principle was concerned, he honoured their readiness to suffer for it. For when Ptolemy's anger had subsided, and he came to reflect, he more justly appreciated their loyalty to Laomedon; and comparing their just sense of the sanctity of an oath with the deception and recklessness of truth so prevalent among other nations, he concluded that they would prove valuable subjects to himself, if he could but bind them to his own interests in like manner. He therefore conferred upon them the same privileges which Alexander had done, and then exacted from them an oath of allegiance; and finding his account in their fidelity, he raised a corps of 30,000 Jews, entrusted several important fortresses to their keeping, and at length placed unbounded confidence in them.

Soon after this Palestine again became the theatre of war, owing to a sharp struggle between Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Antigonus, another of Alexander's generals who was now in the field; which terminated by Seleucus becoming the possessor of Palestine. At first he made the Jews pay an annual tribute for the privileges they required; but finding that the advantages they enjoyed in Egypt caused a continual current of emigration to flow in that direction, he also changed *his* policy toward them, and, imitating the liberality of Ptolemy, granted to them the same immunities in their own land. By the like means he encouraged them to settle in those cities of Asia Minor, which he had previously colonized with Greeks;[1] and thus in both directions a voluntary dispersion of the Jews was gradually taking place. But Seleucus dying soon after, Ptolemy again obtained possession of Palestine, and in a spirit of rivalry courted the favour of the Jews with a larger liberality than ever; whilst they rendered to him various essential services in return.

These circumstances caused the Jews to be much more extensively known among the Greeks; and however they came to be despised by the Gentiles at a later period, (which arose from their moral character having then become lamentably debased,) they were now held in great estimation for wisdom and virtue; and it is highly probable that those glimmerings of the knowledge of the true God and of correct philosophy, which are found in the writings of the Greeks, were derived from their intercourse and friendship with the Jews, which grew up subsequent to the time of Alexander the Great.[1]

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[1] Appianus in Syriacis; and Euseb. Chron.—Here it may be mentioned that the era of the *Seleucidæ* commenced after the conquest of Babylon by Seleucus, A.A.C. 312. The Jews afterwards adopted and continued to use this era until A.D. 1040, when, being expelled from Asia by the Caliphs, they began to date from the Creation; though not entirely dropping the era of the Seleucidæ.

But wheresoever the Jews might be located, and however highly esteemed, they did not forget their native land; but sent their contributions annually to Jerusalem, for the support of the temple, priests, and Levites; the latter of whom do not appear to have been endowed with any cities or territorial possessions after the captivity.

Onias had been succeeded, in the course of these events, by his son Simon, surnamed 'the Just,' who continued to enjoy the priesthood for about nine years, and died soon after Ptolemy recovered Palestine. He became eminent for his piety and learning, and greatly promoted, during his pontificate, the religious welfare of the Jews. By him schools were founded in many places, and the canon of inspired writ further determined and completed, according to the form and number of books now preserved and acknowledged by the Jews.[2] He had a learned and pious coadjutor in Antigonus Sochæus; who greatly promoted the diligent study and investigation of the scriptures, and was followed by a multitude of disciples.

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[1] See the testimony of Clearchus and Hecatæus in Josephus, Cont. Appion. i. 22; ii. 4. Strabo states that the Grecian sages and philosophers held the Jews in great esteem; (lib. xvi.) and Justin Martyr and Clemens Alexandrinus affirm, that they learnt much of their doctrine from them.

[2] It is generally supposed that it was in the time of Simon that the Septuagint, or Greek version of the scriptures, was first commenced; though afterwards completed in the reign of Ptolemy Phila-

[A.A.C. 292—222.]—On the death of Simon, his son Onias being only an infant, Eleazar, the brother of Simon was made high priest; and again at his death, Onias being still under age, his great uncle, named Manasseh, was preferred to the office, and held it, to the mortification of Onias, during twenty-six years more. At length Onias II. succeeded, at the age of forty-two years; but greatly disappointed the expectations entertained of him, as the son of Simon the Just; and by his excessive and unscrupulous avarice had well nigh brought the nation into great affliction. The Jews were now paying to the Greek princes of Egypt little more than a nominal tribute, amounting only to twenty silver talents annually; which sum, after it was collected, was first paid over to the high priest. Onias, however, instead of remitting it, had regularly consigned it to his own coffers; and Ptolemy Euergetes (who had now succeeded Ptolemy Phila-

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delphus, the successor of Ptolemy Soter. The Jews have indulged in numerous palpable fictions concerning the origin and progress of this work: the most probable of all the conjectures respecting it is, that as, in the time of Ezra, the circumstance of the Jews having become more familiar with the dialect of Babylonia than with Hebrew, called forth the Chaldee paraphrase; so now a version was undertaken in the Greek tongue for the benefit of that multitude of Jews, who were at this period dwelling among the Greeks, and adopting their language in the various cities of Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor; and that the king of Egypt, who was then founding a vast library, was presented with a copy of it, and possibly promoted the translation with his money. Its being brought to its completion under the care of the Jewish Sanhedrin, or council of *Seventy*, and published with their authority and sanction, (as we know was the case,) will sufficiently account for the name of *Septuagint*, or version of the *Seventy*, which it has obtained.

delphus, and pursued the same friendly policy toward the Jews,) had for several years remonstrated in vain. Euergetes at length resolved to convince the Jews that he would not be trifled with; and sent an officer peremptorily to demand the arrears, (now amounting to 480 talents,) and to declare that if the money were not immediately paid, they should be expelled from their country. Onias however was inflexible, and determined to resign his dignity rather than his money; and the Jews were consequently thrown into a state of great perplexity and alarm. They were delivered out of it, however, by the dexterity and address of Joseph, a nephew of Onias, who finding expostulation and rebuke thrown away upon his uncle, proceeded to the Egyptian court; and having borrowed large sums of money, for the twofold purpose of making presents and an imposing figure, he contrived so to ingratiate himself with the king, that he returned in the capacity of collector of the revenue for Judea, Samaria, Phœnicia, and Cœle-Syria, having under his command 2000 soldiers. He soon paid the required sum; and being afterwards punctual in his remittances beyond all precedent, he was continued in his lucrative office and his son after him. Onias died at an advanced age, and was succeeded by his son, Simon the second, a more worthy and pious descendant of his grandfather.

The long season of quiet, which had now been enjoyed by the Jews, had afforded opportunity for various rank weeds to spring up and luxuriate among them, the evil fruits of which were becoming manifest in the degeneracy of the national morals. Properly, however, to understand their condition, some account must here be given of the sects and parties, which were in existence at the period at which we are now arrived, and of their origin.

The zeal which was manifested for the Law in the time of Ezra was not without alloy. It soon grew weary of adhering to the simple text and obvious sense of scripture; and the commentaries which followed, besides being tinged with the oriental philosophy, were presently distinguished by a trifling and pernicious system, called *Cabbala*, which, overlooking the weightier matters of the Law, amused itself with attaching to words and letters a mystical signification and numerical power, whereby any meaning was extracted from holy writ which ingenuity or fraudulence could devise.[1] A pretence was likewise set up, that many things were taught of God to Moses, which, though not written in the Law, had been handed down by tradition; and although such a pretence on the part of the scribes and teachers, opened so wide a door to imposition, the alleged traditions were nevertheless regarded by many with a profound veneration, and received as of equal authority with the written word. The invention of the teachers of this oral law was of itself sufficiently productive; but not satisfied with this, commentaries were again put forth upon the traditions,[1] and came at length to be regarded with even greater deference than the law or the traditions themselves.

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[1] These commentaries were called Targums; the most ancient of which in existence are that of Onkelos on the Law, and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Prophets. The former is referred by eminent critics to the beginning of the first century of Christianity. A Cabbalistic Treatise called *Zohar*, or *Brightness*, is also said by the Jews to have been compiled by Rabbi Simon ben Jochai in the same century. The Rev. J. Nicolayson, a learned missionary to the Jews in the East, disputes this, on the ground that it contains modern terms (such as *Burgher*, and other names of office,) but admits that these are probably interpolations of a later date; whilst the passages which favour the Christian interpretation of holy writ *must*, he thinks, be of an antiquity exceeding that of the first compilation itself. (Jewish Intell. 1835, p. 212.) Buxtorf questions its authenticity altogether as a Jewish work, on the ground of the Christianized tone of many of its passages; but this is in reality the strongest evidence in *favour* of its authenticity. For the Jews, after the time of Christ, would never have received such a work from a suspicious quarter: neither would they continue to venerate it, as they now do, notwithstanding they are aware of its tendency to prepare the mind for the dogmas of Christianity, were they not persuaded of its genuineness. The probability therefore is, that the work really contains the opinions of the purer Cabbalistic Jews of the age previous to the advent of Messiah.

Those who professed to teach the oral law were called *Tanaim*, or *Traditionists*. From out of these, and from those called *Chasidim*, or *saints*, from their professing a superior holiness, arose the sect of the *Pharisees*.[2] Their founder is not known; but as they affected a peculiar sanctity, it is not improbable that he was a man of devout spirit; but it is the tendency, as experience has shown, of all sects which profess to be wise above what is written, and to claim for themselves an exclusive measure of holiness, speedily to degenerate into formality, hypocrisy, fanaticism, and superstition. Thus the Pharisees, whilst they kept aloof from heathen idols, were nevertheless intellectually idolaters of the letter of the law; and though scrupulous beyond what was prescribed, in their observance of the external rest of the sabbath, they lost sight of the spiritual worship and glory due to God, and of his beneficent design in appointing the sabbath for man. Pretending also, by their additions to the law, to a greater zeal for righteousness, they encouraged themselves from those traditions, in adultery, (divorcing their wives for the most trifling offences,) in covetousness, in vindictiveness, and other transgressions of the Mosaical precepts. Yet had they many followers: for human nature is not indisposed to that religion, which at the same time flatters its pride, by voluntary self-denial and will-worship, and gratifies its sensuality and worldliness by indulgence.

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[1] In a later age the unwritten law was collected and published together in one large work, called the *Mischna*. At a period still later the commentaries of the Rabbins were also collected, forming a work of still larger bulk, called *Gemara*. The two together constitute the *Talmud*. But there are two Talmuds; one containing the commentaries of the Rabbins of Palestine, called the *Jerusalem Talmud*; the other containing the commentaries of the Rabbins of the East, called the *Babylonian Talmud*. It has been thought that these traditions and commentaries were not written at all previous to these works appearing; but it is not likely that the memory could have retained so cumbrous a load of rubbish.

[2] The name is somewhat similar in meaning with that of *Chasidim*, being derived from a Hebrew word signifying the *separated*, or *set apart*,—i. e. from what was unholy or common. The word *Chasidim* (חסידים) is translated *Assideans* in 1 Mac. ii. 42, and 2 Mac. xiv. 6.

In the mean while the doctrines and proceedings of the pharisaical sects were not without opponents. A party arose called *Zadikim*, who distinguished themselves by their regard for the genuine Law, and rejected the vagaries of the traditionists and commentators. But among these also fallen humanity betrayed the same tendency to carry matters to extreme, and an ultra zeal against tradition was the consequence, which led many at length to reject all of the canonical books of scripture, except the Pentateuch or five books of Moses. This section of the Zadikim formed the *Sadducees*, as they were subsequently called.[1] Having rejected a large portion of God's word, they did not afterwards hesitate to deny the doctrines of a resurrection and future state of reward or punishment, (points which are not so expressly revealed in the Pentateuch ;) and proceeded, even further, to deny the existence of angels and spirits, and the exercise of a particular providence, tenets which are plainly to be derived thence. The Pharisees however maintained these, and all other orthodox tenets; although they often neutralized them by their traditions, or distorted them by notions drawn from the Persian demonology.

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[1] Their name has been supposed to be derived from one Sadoc or Zadok, a disciple of Antigonus Sochæus; but it is far more probable that the term *Saddukim* is no more than a corrupt pronunciation of *Zadikim* or *Tsadikim*, (צדקים) as Epiphanius declares, c. xiv.

The *Karaite* Jews have been confounded with the Sadducees; but this is an injustice done to the former, and proceeds from the malice of the modern Rabbinical Jews. The Karaites now in existence abhor the doctrines held by the Sadducees. They more probably were that portion of the Zadikim, who kept themselves free from the inventions of the Traditionists, on the one hand, and from the contradictions of the Sadducees on the other; and constituted the small, but really orthodox, portion of the Jewish people. They did not indeed altogether reject tradition; but they denied to it equal authority with holy writ.[1] We shall have occasion to speak hereafter of this remarkable people; and also of the *Essenes*, another sect, which, even if it arose during the preceding period, made as yet no figure in Jewish history.

Another important characteristic of the present period remains to be noticed, which distinguished between the Pharisees and the Sadducees: viz. the contempt which the former entertained for their heathen protectors; and, on the contrary, the inclination among the latter for Greek customs. For the less pious of the Sadducees, from the natural tendency of their principles, fell into great laxity and indifference with respect to the rigors of the law; and by latitudinarian sentiments were gradually preparing the mass of the nation for a relapse into idolatry. In power and numbers the Pharisees were at present the smaller party, and their adherents were chiefly to be found among the poorer classes. The Sadducees were followed by the more wealthy, who had intercourse with the officers of the Greek troops in the garrisoned cities of Palestine, and with the educated of that nation in foreign cities; and to this section of the Sadducees were inclined, though not avowedly identified with them, that large class, of all ranks and denominations, who cared not for religion at all, or were impatient of its restrictions.

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[1] Their name קראים signifies *Scriptuarii* or *Textuarii;* which the modern Karaites say was originally given to them as a term of reproach. (Prideaux, Con. vol. ii. p. 388.)

Such was the state of the nation at the present time; and God was preparing for its correction. One storm had already threatened them, through the avarice of Onias: a second now unexpectedly arose, which plunged them into circumstances of far greater trial and danger than the former.

[A.A.C. 221.]—Ptolemy Philopater had succeeded to the throne of Egypt, between whom and Antiochus, the king of Syria, a struggle ensued for the sovereignty of Cœle-Syria, whereby Palestine again became the theatre of war. Philopater took the field in person, and came off victorious; on which the Jews, who had remained firm to his interests, sent embassies from their cities to congratulate him. Philopater, in return, paid them a complimentary visit at Jerusalem, and offered numerous sacrifices on the altar of Jehovah. Alexander and Euergetes had done the same before him; and many heathen princes afterwards imitated their example: but this arose from no real conversion to the Jews' religion, nor from any proper knowledge of the only true God; but either from worldly policy, or from that excess of superstition which commonly induced the heathen to do homage at the shrine of any deity, whose favour they deemed likely to be useful.

The festivity, however, occasioned by the visit of Philopater, was speedily changed into lamentations. For a great desire was excited in the king to inspect the interior of the temple; and the representation of Simon to him, that not only foreigners, but even Jews themselves were excluded from it, unless they were priests, only inflamed his curiosity the more. He forced his way through the courts of the temple into the edifice; but just as he was about to enter into the inner sanctuary, he was seized with a panic terror, which paralysed him, and he was carried out half dead by his attendants. On being recovered out of it, he fell into a paroxysm of rage, and quitted Jerusalem with denunciations of vengeance against the whole Jewish race.

The Jews of Alexandria felt the first effects of his resentment. By way of retaliation, he published a decree, upon his return home, forbidding all persons to enter into his palace who did not sacrifice to the gods whom he worshipped; whereby the Jews were prevented from approaching his tribunal, either to obtain justice or favour. Finding that they patiently submitted to this, he next ordered all the Jews to be branded with an ivy leaf, the mark of his god Bacchus; after which he commanded that all who refused to be initiated in the rites of Bacchus, and actually to worship him, should be degraded from the first to the lowest class of citizens, with the consequent loss of all their privileges. To the honor of the Jews, only about three hundred, out of many thousands of their race in Alexandria, complied with the idolatrous alternative; and these were immediately excommunicated by the rest, and held in general abhorrence.

Exasperated at their firmness, Philopater now resolved to exterminate them all; to effect which horrible purpose, he caused the Jews throughout Egypt to be brought in chains to Alexandria, and there, together with their brethren of the city, to be shut up in the Hippodrome, (a large space enclosed for horse-racing and other public sports,) intending to expose them to be trodden under foot by elephants. On the day appointed, an immense concourse of spectators assembled to witness the tragedy; but the king, who was a zealous votary of his god, having drunk to excess the night before, disappointed the multitude, and the Jews were thus reprieved till the next day. Another night of dissipation produced another day of respite; during which the Jews united in continual prayer and supplication to the Almighty. Nor did they petition him in vain. The king was sober enough to attend on the third day; when the elephants, previously made infuriate with wine and frankincense, attacked the spectators instead of the Jews, destroyed great numbers of them before they could be secured, whilst the king and his attendants fled terrified away.

Philopater was fully convinced that the interposition was of God; and dreading the further vengeance of heaven, he immediately liberated the Jews, rescinded his decrees against them, and not only restored them to their former privileges, but gave them others in addition. He likewise permitted them to deal with their apostate brethren as they pleased; which license they sternly availed themselves of, by putting the whole three hundred to death. In commemoration of this deliverance the Jews of Alexandria erected a pillar, and instituted a festival, which was observed for centuries after.

[A.A.C. 204—170.]—This cloud having likewise passed away, the firmament was presently overspread by others still more terrific. Philopater dying, left an infant son, named Epiphanes; and Antiochus the Great, who was then king of Syria, took advantage of the opportunity to invade Palestine. The Jews, either disgusted with the Ptolemies on account of the recent atrocities in Egypt, and the previous profanation of their temple, or coveting the superior advantages enjoyed by their brethren of Mesopotamia under the protection of Antiochus, cordially received him into their cities, and helped him to expel the Egyptian troops. Their desertion of their former patrons seemed at first to be rewarded. Antiochus gave out that it was his intention to restore Jerusalem to its ancient splendor and privileges; and indeed took measures which proved him to be sincere. He granted exemption from taxes to all Jews, who within a limited period should take up their abode in Jerusalem; and emancipated the Jewish slaves throughout his dominions. He undertook also to repair the temple at his own cost, and granted an annual subsidy for sacrifices and oblations.

But this gleam of sunshine was but of short duration. The youthful Ptolemy Epiphanes, having placed himself under the protection of Rome, which power was now rapidly advancing toward the empire of the world, the senate imperiously ordered Antiochus to restore all the countries he had wrested from him; which he refusing to do, they declared war against him; and Antiochus, though aided by Annibal, the famous Carthaginian general, was shorn of his possessions in Europe, and his power and resources were otherwise so greatly diminished, that he was unable to fulfil his munificent intentions toward the Jews. This first taste of Roman interference would not favourably impress them toward that power.

Simon II. died about three years after these events, and was succeeded by Onias III; in the eighth year of whose pontificate Antiochus was killed by the inhabitants of Elymais, who were enraged against him for having plundered the temple of Jupiter Belus in their city, in order to enable him to pay the tribute imposed upon him by the Romans.

His son, Seleucus IV. stimulated by the same necessity and example, cast his eye upon the larger treasures of the temple at Jerusalem; of which he was secretly informed, and of the facility of seizing them, by the governor of the temple, a miscreant named Simon, who having had a quarrel with the high priest, in which he found himself to be in the wrong, took this malignant and treasonable method of gratifying his revenge. Seleucus despatched an officer, named Heliodorus, with a military force, for the purpose of seizing them; who, dissembling the real object of his mission, was received with every token of respect; but having at length inquired of the high priest particularly concerning the treasures, he privately communicated to him the orders of

Seleucus, and, deaf to the remonstrances of Onias, appointed a day on which he should take possession.

Jerusalem, in the meanwhile, was filled with consternation. The women, girt with sackcloth, ran wildly about the streets; and the priests and Levites, with the inhabitants in general, engaged in supplication. Heliodorus proceeded to the temple at the time appointed, and forcing his way into the treasury with his guards, was there arrested by the vision of a divine personage seated on a white horse, which animal smote him down with his fore feet, whilst two other angelic beings scourged him. He was taken out by his soldiers, without having accomplished his object; and humbly besought the intercession of Onias, that his health might be restored. The latter complied, and his prayer was heard. The above story of the apparation is by some considered fabulous: it is difficult, however, if we reject it altogether, to account for the fact of Heliodorus failing in his mission. And that he actually was prevented in the manner related, either through stratagem or miracle, seems to be confirmed by the testimony of the traitor Simon, who afterwards accused Onias of being the person who betrayed the knowledge of this treasure to Heliodorus, and of having then got up this imposture in order to counteract the evil consequences of his own garrulity.[1] The faction of Simon at all events gave credit to this report; and party spirit ran so high, that they came to blows with the friends of Onias, and many were killed on both sides. On this Onias repaired to Seleucus, and having laid before him the whole affair, the infamous Simon was banished from Judea.

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[1] 2 Mac. iii. iv.

Onias however was destined to see another, more wicked and unprincipled even than Simon, rise up to trouble both the nation and himself: this was no other than his own brother, Joshua. Seleucus dying soon after was succeeded by Antiochus Epiphanes; on which Joshua repaired to Antioch, and changing his name to Jason, out of compliment to the Greeks, privately made Antiochus an offer of 350 talents, if he would depose his brother Onias from his office, and appoint him in his place. Insulting as the scandalous proposal was to Antiochus, Jason appears nevertheless to have correctly estimated his principles: for he succeeded in procuring the pontificate, as also the banishment of Onias to Antioch; the effect of whose character and popularity he dreaded, if he were permitted to continue at Jerusalem.

On his return to Jerusalem, Jason, who was immoderately fond of Grecian customs, immediately began to introduce them among the Jews. He erected a Gymnasium for public sports and exercises; founded a college in which the youth were educated in the Grecian literature and manners; and procured from Antiochus the power of rewarding those, who distinguished themselves, with the freedom of Antioch. He sent some of these graduates in the following year to the Olympic games; and in order to propitiate the Greeks by a still further display of Jewish latitudinarianism, he furnished them with money for offerings to the Tyrian Hercules. The young disciples, however, not being yet sufficiently prepared for so decided an act of idolatry, presented the money instead toward the expenses of repairing the Tyrian navy. But the defection from Jewish principles was not confined to the youth; numbers who were indifferent to religion, and lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God, gave countenance to the innovations of the liberal usurper; many even among the priests became of his party, and preferred the exercises of the circus to the services of the Lord's courts.

But Jason had a younger brother, called Menelaus, who having followed his example in assuming a Greek name, was emulous also of surpassing him in profligacy; and being sent by Jason with the usual tribute to the king, he boldly offered to Antiochus double the sum given to him by his brother, if he would again act the deposer, and confer the priesthood upon him. The shameless tyrant acceded to his request, and Menelaus returned to Jerusalem armed with the king's commission; but finding the adherents of Jason indisposed toward himself, he retraced his steps to Antioch, and informed the king, that he and his followers had now come to the resolution of conforming altogether to the Greek religion. Flattered by this assurance Antiochus gave him a military escort; before which Jason and his immediate adherents thought it prudent to retire, and took refuge among the Ammonites.

Menelaus immediately proceeded to fulfil his promise to Antiochus, by establishing the idolatrous worship of the Syrians; in which he was cordially assisted by the Greek party, whilst a large proportion of the people looked on with comparative indifference. This was not the case however with all: though obliged at present to cower before the storm, yet the more virtuous of the Zadikim, and the Pharisees generally, viewed these proceedings with grief and indignation; which in the end greatly tended to increase the influence of the rabbins, and to diminish that of the priests. For the great teachers of the law and of the traditions were not at this time confined to the priesthood, neither to the Levites; and now that the more reflecting part of the nation witnessed the corruption of manners betrayed by the priests in general, and the venal and scandalous means by which the pontiffs obtained their dignity, they transferred their confidence and veneration to the apparently devout and certainly more zealous advocates of Judaism. By this means also the worship of the synagogue spread itself more over the country, and gradually came under the control of the scribes and doctors of the law;[1] whilst those of the teachers who claimed to be depositaries and interpreters of the oral traditions, acquired an immense influence over the minds of their hearers,—to whom they became the casuists and confessors, and their dictum was considered equally authoritative as the law.

Menelaus soon got into difficulty. For having neglected to pay the tribute, he was summoned to Antioch to explain; and from thence he wrote to another brother, Lysimachus, whom he had left in charge of his affairs at Jerusalem, to forward to him some of the golden vessels of the temple; by the sale of which he paid his arrears, and had a large surplus remaining. But the transaction coming to the knowledge of the banished Onias, who resided at Antioch, he denounced it to the other Jews, who one and all reprobated the sacrilege. In order to avert the danger which threatened him, Menelaus, in the absence of Antiochus, applied to his viceroy, Andronicus, and by bribery induced him privately to murder the upright but unfortunate Onias. The baseness and treachery of this act excited general abhorrence, both among the Syrians and Jews; by which even Antiochus himself was so much affected, that on his return to his capital, he caused Andronicus to be stripped of the purple, and put to death, with every mark of infamy, on the spot where the bloody deed had been perpetrated. But it was a solitary impulse of virtuous indignation in the king. The turn of Menelaus came, and he was called on to defend himself; and seeing no chance of escape from his perilous situation but by bribery and intrigue, he wrote to Lysimachus for another supply of gold; and he, being on this occasion more jealously watched, was surprised by the inhabitants of Jerusalem, whilst engaged in packing up a second freight of valuables, and notwithstanding he was surrounded by soldiers, was slain in the treasury. At the time appointed for the trial of Menelaus, the Jews deputed three of the most respectable members of their Sanhedrim to repair to Tyre, where the cause was heard, for the two-fold purpose of explaining the death of Lysimachus and of accusing Menelaus. The case was so clear on behalf of the deputies, that Menelaus was convicted; but Antiochus, being at this crisis influenced by the promise of a bribe, tendered him through a favourite whom Menelaus had secured, was vile enough to reverse what he had done, and acquitting the guilty Menelaus, put the three innocent deputies to death. The Tyrians showed their sense of the result by giving to the bodies of the murdered delegates an honourable burial.

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[1] These circumstances confirm the observations made in a former note, (p. 181.) on the licence afforded in regard to the *prophetical* office; for the functions of prophet and teacher were so identified, that *teaching* is not unfrequently called *prophesying*. (1 Cor. xi—xiv.) It also accounts for the fact of our Lord being permitted to preach in the synagogues and in the temple; which would have been illegal, and certainly would have been prevented, had it been a function belonging only to the priests or Levites. Psalm lxx. 8 shows that synagogues existed previous to the captivity: but at that time probably the service in them was confined simply to the *reading* of the Law; according to the observation of the Apostle James, "that Moses *of old time* hath, *in every city*, them that preach him, being *read* in the synagogues every Sabbath day." (Acts xv. 21.) Wherever ten worshippers were found, there a synagogue might be formed; but not with a less number: for they had a tradition concerning the divine presence, that if less were assembled God exclaimed, "Wherefore come I, and nobody here." Our Lord probably had this restriction in view, when he made that encouraging promise, "that wheresoever *two or three* only should be gathered together in his name, there would he be present in the midst of them."

[A.A.C. 170.]—Upon the news of this tragedy reaching Jerusalem, consternation and despair seized upon all who were well-wishers to their country. They saw how completely they were at the mercy of abandoned tyrants, who regarded neither the principles of justice, nor the dictates of humanity, when their own selfish policy interfered. Nor were their apprehensions without foundation. A report soon after got abroad, that Antiochus, who was carrying on a warfare in Egypt, had fallen before the walls of Alexandria. Upon its reaching the Ammonites, Jason, the first usurper of the pontificate, conceiving it a favourable opportunity for recovering the office, hastened to Jerusalem with a thousand determined followers, and being joined by his adherents in the city, forced Menelaus to retire within the citadel. But hearing that Antiochus, instead of being dead, was advancing upon Jerusalem with an army, he again fled, and wandering from city to city, perished at last in unpitied wretchedness.

In the meanwhile Antiochus heard the report of his own death, and having been informed that there had been demonstrations of joy among the Jews on the news of it, he came to Jerusalem in a state of furious exasperation; and the gates being thrown open to him by the partisans of Menelaus, he gave up the city to three days' slaughter and pillage, during which forty thousand persons were massacred, and an equal number sold into slavery. The infamous Menelaus himself conducted him into the temple; where he soon completed the plunder already commenced by the pontiff, and then departed for Antioch in triumph.

Soon after this, having been sternly forbidden by the Romans to pursue further hostilities in Egypt, and this under circumstances exceedingly galling to his pride, the Jews experienced the effects of his mortification. He sent forward his general Apollonius with an army of 22,000 men, who, concealing his designs, and being quietly admitted into Jerusalem, remained inactive until the ensuing sabbath; on which day, suddenly falling upon the Jews whilst engaged in worship or repose, he slew all whom he could find, and, seizing the women and children, sold them into captivity. He next gave up the city again to pillage; after which he set it on fire and broke down its walls. The temple, whether by design, or from its insulated situation, escaped the flames; but Apollonius with the ruins of the city erected a large fortress, called Acra, upon an eminence which overlooked it; from whence if any were seen peeping forth from their hiding-places, or approaching the sacred precincts for devotion, they were immediately set upon and massacred.

The rage of their persecutor was not yet satisfied, and in order that the Jews in the other parts of Palestine, and throughout his dominions, might feel the effects of it, he next year resolved entirely to suppress their worship. For this purpose he issued a decree, requiring from all his subjects conformity to the Greek religion; and commissioners were everywhere appointed to see it carried into execution.

Atheneas, a rancorous enemy of the Jews, and well acquainted with their customs, was the chief commissioner appointed for Judea. He commenced by dedicating the temple at Jerusalem to Jupiter Olympius, whose statue was erected on the altar of burnt-offering. On account of the command against swines' flesh, a great sow was offered up in sacrifice; the flesh of which was boiled and the broth sprinkled about, in order to defile the temple in Jewish estimation. Altars and images were set up in the streets of Jerusalem and in the cities of Judea, at which the people were compelled to offer sacrifice of forbidden meats, or to suffer death. Circumcision was strictly forbidden, or any other observance of the Mosaic ritual. Some women who were discovered to have circumcised their infants were paraded about the city with their children suspended by the legs to their necks, and then thrown over the battlements of the castle. All the copies of the law were required to be given up, and were publicly burnt; and whosoever was detected in concealing one was put to death. To crown all, the feast of the Bacchanalia, the licentiousness and profligacy of which shocked even the Romans, was substituted for the feast of Tabernacles; and the Jews were forced to join in it, and to wear the ivy.

The Greek party not only conformed to these abominations, but malignantly informed against their countrymen who were recusant, and otherwise aided the commissioners; which too clearly betrayed, that, behind the plausible pretexts, put forth to justify their earlier and less culpable innovations, there was a leaven of infidelity concealed, preparing them to rush into any extreme of irreligion. Of the others, however, many preferred to suffer martyrdom, rather than conform to the idolatrous tests; the majority of whom withdrew to the caves and fastnesses of Judea, (the usual refuge of the nation in seasons of extremity,) and there in secret still worshipped the God of their fathers. A thousand of these were surprised by Philip, the governor of the province, in a large cavern near to Jerusalem, engaged in worship on the Sabbath day. More disposed to clemency than his fellows, he promised them life if they would apostatize; but emboldened, rather than intimidated, by the sense of danger, they assembled again on the following Sabbath, and suffered themselves to be surrounded by Philip and cut to pieces.

Antiochus, finding that many of the Jews still continued firm, came himself to Jerusalem, for the purpose of directing the persecution with increased rigor. His first victim was Eleazar, a scribe of true piety, who had attained to the great age of ninety years, and by whose example many had been strengthened to endure. He was brought forth upon a public stage, in order to be compelled to eat swine's flesh; but though it was thrust into his mouth, he resolutely refused to swallow it. The soldiers who were about him, with a feeling of commiseration, suggested that he might eat publicly some other food of his own providing, and thus satisfy the king; but the venerable martyr gave them meekly to understand, that the example to his brethren would be equally calculated to stumble them, and the dissimulation equally culpable before God; upon which he was led away to execution, the soldiers, who before had pitied, now upbraiding him for pride and stubbornness. He died declaring his fear of God, and his willingness to suffer for his name's sake.

Another instance of suffering was the case of a respectable female and her seven sons, who were brought before the king himself, and in the presence of each other successively put to the torture, in order to induce them to apostatize. But they all died with great constancy, encouraging each other and exhorted by their mother, who was herself the last that suffered. The words put into the mouths of these martyrs by the author of the book of Maccabees, whether actually spoken by them or not, serve to throw light upon the theology of the more scriptural Jews, and is of a satisfactory character. They acknowledged that the transgressions of their nation had justly provoked these sufferings;—they expressed their conviction that God had nevertheless not forsaken the nation, but would presently interpose and punish their persecutors;—and that at all events he was king of the world, and would raise those who suffered for him to the enjoyment of a glorious resurrection hereafter.[1]

Of the other nations under the dominion of Antiochus, whose religious liberty was affected by his decree of conformity, the Persians and the Samaritans were the principal. The former resisted, and gave Antiochus no little trouble. The Samaritans acted with their usual duplicity; and although, in the time of Alexander, they had declared themselves

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[1] 2 Mac. vii. It is probable that it is to these martyrs among others that St. Paul alludes, Heb. xi. 35—38.

Israelites, and of the same worship with the Jews, in order to obtain the same privileges; they now sent deputies to assure Antiochus that they were Cutheans, and of their readiness to dedicate their temple on Mount Gerizim to Jupiter Xenius; which they accordingly did. These, and similar acts of baseness in that people, caused the animosity toward them, occasioned by their conduct on the return from Babylon, to settle down into an invincible antipathy, and gave rise to the following proverb among the Jews: "Two nations my heart abhorreth: they that sit upon the mountain of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Philistines." (Eccles. l. 25.)

[A.A.C. 167.] But the groans and the prayers of the true worshippers of God were not disregarded, and deliverance was now at hand. Proceeding in the execution of the king's decree, Apelles, one of his commissioners, arrived at Modin, (the modern Sobah,) a small town on an eminence near the sea coast, and the native place of an aged priest, named Mattathias, who had retired thither from the storm, together with his family. The inhabitants being assembled by Apelles, and required to conform to the Greek religion by sacrifice, a Jew stepped forward at his instigation in order to set the example. Moved by a zeal of God, Mattathias, like another Phineas, instantly struck him dead; and his sons, at the same time attacking Apelles and his followers, slew them all, and then pulled down the idolatrous altar. A little band of witnesses for God immediately gathered round the venerable leader, with whom, not deeming it prudent to remain in Modin, he retired to the deserts, where a number of other Jews soon flocked to his standard. But a serious disaster damped their first proceedings. The troops of Antiochus pursuing, attacked a detachment of his little army on the sabbath; and their principles not allowing them to resist on that day, they were all massacred. Upon this Mattathias held a council, at which the propriety of defending themselves on the sabbath was discussed; when perceiving that God had never interposed in their behalf when they refrained, they came to the determination, that though they would not attack on that day, they would stand upon the defensive.

The first object of Mattathias and his followers was not so much the destruction of the Syrians, as the restoration of the worship of God and the punishment of the apostates. Wherever he fell upon a city, he put to death the leaders of the Greek faction,[1] pulled down the idolatrous altars and images, caused all the males to be circumcised, reopened the synagogues, and having recovered a few copies of the Law, he caused numerous transcripts to be made, with which the towns were supplied. By these proceedings he struck terror into his adversaries both Jewish and Syrian; so that whichsoever way he turned, the cities opened their gates to him, or were speedily taken by assault. But the age and infirmities of Mattathias sank under the toils and excitement of the crisis; and he died in the following year much lamented, and was buried with great solemnity in the sepulchre of his ancestors at Modin.

On perceiving his departure to be at hand, and that his third son, Judas, had given indications of superior military skill and prudence, he nominated him to succeed him in the command, enjoining his brethren to obey him, and to make God their fear. His elder brothers, Jonathan and Simon, in a spirit of disinterested patriotism and piety, willingly submitted; consequently Judas, afterwards called *Maccabeus*, assumed the command.[1]

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[1] It was probably at this time that another proverb obtained among the Jews,—"Cursed be he that eateth swine's flesh and teacheth his son Greek."

From the funeral of his father Judas hastened with his forces, now amounting to 6000 men, to meet Apollonius, the king's general, who was advancing with a numerous army; and notwithstanding the superior numbers of the enemy, he immediately gave battle, entirely defeated and killed Apollonius, and captured all the military baggage and arms of the Syrians,—a supply which was specially needed at this juncture. This exploit was soon after followed by the defeat of Seron, the governor of Cœle-Syria, who was also left dead upon the field of battle with 800 of his troops.

Antiochus was prevented himself from coming against the Jews, by the insurrection which his decree of conformity had caused among the Persians; and considering his presence to be more urgently required among them, he contented himself with deputing a nobleman named Lysias to the government of Syria in his absence, directing him to take vigorous measures for the extermination of the Jews. Lysias drew together an army of 40,000 infantry and 7000 cavalry, whom he placed under the command of three experienced officers, Nicanor, Ptolemy, and Gorgias, who advanced into the plains of Emmaus;

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[1] Some say he was so called from the Hebrew word מקבי which signifies '*the hammerer.*' Others derive the name from the abbreviated form of the motto adopted on his banner: *Mi camo-ca Baalim Jehovah*;—"Who is like unto Thee among the gods, O Jehovah!" (Ex. xv. 11.)

their numbers being increased as they proceeded, by various auxiliaries, and especially by apostate Jews. Judas, on hearing of their arrival, convened all his followers to Mizpeh, where they observed a solemn fast with supplication. Having given permission to those who had married or betrothed wives to depart, and also to the timid, numbers took advantage of it, until the force of Judas was reduced to 3000 men; but with these, encouraging themselves in God, he boldly moved forward and took up a position on the south of Emmaus. On the following night Gorgias was detached with a body of 6000 horse and foot for the purpose of surprizing him; but Judas, having gained intelligence of the movement, made a wide circuit, and passing the forces of Gorgias without being perceived, surprized the main body, who were lying securely in the plain, slew 3000 of them, and completely routed the whole. The next morning Gorgias, returning from his fruitless enterprize, with his men dispirited and weary, found to his dismay the army dispersed, the camp in flames, and the troops of Judas, who had been restrained both from pursuit and plunder, drawn up in readiness to receive him; upon which his men likewise took to flight. A large body of slave-dealers had followed the enemy's camp, in full confidence that the Jews must be defeated, and that there would presently be numerous captives for sale. Judas took them all prisoners and sold them into slavery instead; and having now despoiled the camp, and thereby acquired another seasonable supply of arms and treasure, he returned to Mizpeh, and observed a solemn thanksgiving.

Anxious to wipe out the disgrace of this defeat, Lysias collected together the scattered forces of

Nicanor, and having increased them to 65,000 men, himself took the field in the following year. But he was completely overthrown at Bethsura by Judas (whose forces now amounted to 10,000 men) with the loss of five thousand in killed.

As Lysias retired after this defeat to Antioch, Judas availed himself of the respite it afforded him to cleanse and repair the temple of Jerusalem. He rebuilt also the walls of the city, and having placed a strong garrison in it, in order to overawe the enemy in the fort of Acra, he finally re-opened the temple for the worship of God, three years after it had been profaned by Antiochus. This event was afterwards annually celebrated by a solemn festival.[1]

Antiochus, hearing of these serious disasters, hastened out of Persia, raging like a wild beast, and vowing that he would make Judea one vast cemetery. He was taken ill however on the road, and died at a small town called Paretacene, his body having been afflicted by a painful and offensive ulcer, which bred worms; and his mind being agitated by remorse—for his outrages on the Persian temples, says Polybius; —for his horrible barbarities and sacrilege in Judea, say the authors of the Books of the Maccabees.

[A.A.C. 164.] The surrounding nations and cities were irritated against the Jews, on account of the number of relatives and friends who had fallen before the soldiers of Judas; and from this period an unfavourable change took place in the sentiments of the heathen powers of the Syrian empire toward them. Timotheus and Bacchides, the generals of Antiochus Eupator, who had succeeded Antiochus Epiphanes, were readily joined by the Ammonites and Idumeans for the purpose of oppressing the Jews; and the inhabitants of Galilee, and of the cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Ptolemais, likewise confederated against them. Judas however was not idle: he divided his forces, and despatching his brother Simon with 3000 men into Galilee, he departed himself with 8000 against Timotheus. Both divisions were favoured with success: Simon drove the enemy to the gates of Ptolemais, leaving 3000 of them dead upon the field; whilst Timotheus, in one battle with Judas, lost 8000 men; and in another 21,000 were slain, chiefly Idumeans; whose incursions Judas restrained by fortifying Bethsura on their frontier.[1] Timotheus fled to Gaza, which Judas took by storm, and slew Timotheus; and likewise burnt some, who had blasphemed the God of Israel from the walls.

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[1] There is some discrepancy among writers as to the dates of these events. Some make the profanation to have occurred A.A.C. 170, others 168, and others 167. (See Diod. Sic. xxxiv. 1.) A.A.C. 168 is the date more generally adopted, which makes the cleansing of the temple to have occurred A.A.C. 165, on the 25th of the month Chisleu.

Antiochus Eupator next took the field himself with an immense force, consisting of 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 32 elephants; and invading Judea by the side of the Idumeans, invested Bethsura. Judas attacked him in the night, and killing 4000 of his men, drew off at day-break without the loss of one man of his own troops. He also attacked him by day, when his men performed prodigies of valour, rushing upon the elephants, and by terrifying them turned them upon their own troops. One man cut his way through the enemy to an elephant, on which he supposed Antiochus to be seated, and, stooping under the animal, stabbed it in the belly, and suffered himself to be crushed under its falling weight.

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[1] The Idumeans at this time inhabited a district westward of that inhabited by the ancient Edomites, having been dispossessed by the Nabathean Arabs. Pliny and Strabo both call Petra a Nabathean city. (Plin. Hist. Nat. c. vi. s. 32; Strabo c. xvi. p. 768, 780.)

But the Jews were not without reverses. The youthful brothers of Judas, Joseph and Azariah, had been left by him at head quarters, when he attacked the Idumeans, with strict injunctions not to engage the enemy; but being excited by the successes of their brethren, and anxious to distinguish themselves, they marched and attacked the enemy at Jamnia, and were repulsed by Gorgias with the loss of 2000 men. Neither could Judas succeed in relieving Bethsura against the immense forces of Eupator. The garrison therefore capitulated from the want of provisions; but obtained favourable terms; which terms however were immediately violated by the faithless Syrian, with the single exception of sparing the lives of the garrison, whom he turned naked out of the gates. He next invested Jerusalem, which was also in want of provisions, and by means of his garrison in Acra greatly annoyed and straitened the inhabitants; but hearing that Philip, who had been his guardian during his minority, had during his absence seized the throne, he gave peace to the Jews on advantageous terms, and marched against the usurper. Previous, however, to his departure, he by another act of perfidy obtained entrance into Jerusalem, and again demolished the fortifications.

The mortification of the Jews at the demolition of their bulwarks was somewhat counterbalanced by witnessing the signal retribution which overtook Menelaus, the infamous high priest, who was in the escort of Eupator at this time. He endeavoured to prejudice the mind of the king against the Jews, in the hope of getting himself appointed governor in the room of Judas: but Lysias, foreseeing that if the king yielded there would still be no peace, openly accused Menelaus as the author of all the troubles; upon which Eupator, without further ceremony, ordered him for execution. There was nevertheless no change for the better as regarded the pontificate; for by the interest of Lysias one Alcimus, of the Greek faction, and as profligate a person as his predecessor, was nominated to the office.

Upon the appointment of Alcimus, Onias, the son of that Onias who was murdered at Antioch, hopeless of obtaining his hereditary right, withdrew to Egypt, where he was so favourably received, not only by the Jews of Alexandria, but by Ptolemy Philopater and his queen, that he obtained permission to erect a temple there, and Alexandria soon witnessed within its walls a magnificent Jewish sanctuary. The Jews of Palestine were not indeed without some jealousy of this temple, considering it a rival to the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and a means of diminishing the amount of offerings to the latter; and some of the more scrupulous Egyptian Jews considered it unlawful to erect a sanctuary anywhere but on Mount Moriah. Onias however silenced them by ingeniously accommodating Isaiah xix. 18—22 to the circumstances of Egypt at that time. It is further worthy of remark, that the Jews who remained faithful to their Egyptian protectors continued to enjoy quiet and prosperity, notwithstanding the profligacy and tyranny of the later princes of Egypt, down to the times of Titus Vespasian.

CHAPTER X.

GOVERNMENT OF THE HIGH PRIESTS.

The Family of the Asmoneans.

JUDAS. [A.A.C. 162.]—By the death of Menelaus, the government of the Jews of Palestine by the family of Jehoiarib, in whose hands the high priesthood had continued from the time of Cyrus, was finally terminated, and transferred to the Maccabees or Asmoneans.[1] Onias, who had withdrawn to Egypt, would have been readily submitted to had he been appointed; but to acknowledge Alcimus, an apostate from the religion of Jehovah, was impossible; and the government therefore, though not as yet the pontificate, was now virtually in the hands of Judas.

The refusal, however, of the Jews to submit to Alcimus, occasioned a renewal of the war. Already had Judas taken arms to punish the inhabitants of Joppa, who had evinced great malignity against the Jews.

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[1] Asamonœus was the great-grandfather of Matthias, and being a person of some consideration his descendants went by the name of *Asaomonœans*, or by contraction *Asmoneans*. He was of the last or 24th class of the priests, named after Maaziah. (1 Chron. xxiv. 7—18.)

For as the treaty of peace, recently concluded with Eupator, allowed to the Jews the free exercise of their religion, and liberty to return to Judea from any part of his dominions, the inhabitants of Joppa enticed on board vessels those Jews of their city who were desirous of availing themselves of this privilege, and drowned them in the harbour. Judas took the city, and avenged the barbarous deed, by setting fire to their fleet. And hearing that the inhabitants of Jamnia were about to act in a similar manner, he came also upon them by surprise, and destroyed their fleet and haven likewise.

To return however to Alcimus, Eupator, having killed the usurper Philip, was in the same year slain himself by Demetrius Soter, another claimant of the throne of Syria. To him repaired Alcimus and other Jews of the Greek party, and by means of bribery, intrigue, and misrepresentation, easily persuaded Demetrius, that the Maccabean party was disaffected to the Syrians, and that they themselves had been expelled on account of their loyalty. Upon this the king commissioned Bacchides to enter Judea with an army, to establish Alcimus in the pontificate by force, and to punish those hostile to the Syrians.

Bacchides, having had experience of the prowess of Judas and his followers, contented himself with escorting Alcimus to Jerusalem; where he left him with a body of troops, and returned to Antioch, after having committed some atrocities. But as the apostate Jews, who had joined Alcimus on his arrival, were dispirited by the departure of Bacchides, Alcimus likewise returned to Antioch, and by further presents and representations induced Demetrius to send with him another army under Nicanor.

But Nicanor had also experienced, to his cost, the valour of the Maccabeans; and deemed it therefore more discreet to come to terms with Judas. Upon this Alcimus again complained to Demetrius, who, indignant at the conduct of Nicanor, refused to ratify the treaty, and sent him peremptory orders to put Judas to death, and effectually suppress his party. Nicanor knew well that this was a matter easier to command than to accomplish; and for some time took the more wary, but less honorable, course of endeavouring to entrap Judas by perfidy; but being constantly foiled, he at length attacked him openly in the field, and was defeated with the loss of 5000 men. Recovering, however, from this overthrow, he soon after ventured upon another battle at Adasa, selecting the Sabbath for the attack, in hope that the Jews would not fight on that day. But in this he was deceived: Judas fell upon him with great fury, and Nicanor was among the first that was slain; whilst the inhabitants of the country and adjacent towns, joining in the pursuit and slaughter of his troops, left not a single man to carry back the fatal tidings into Syria.

Judas took advantage of the respite afforded by this victory to strengthen himself. One measure however which he adopted was at variance with that reliance upon God which he had hitherto professed. He sent an embassy to Rome, and placed himself under the protection of the Romans; who promised to threaten Demetrius with war, in case he offered further molestation to the Jews. But in the mean time Demetrius had already despatched another army under Bacchides; and as if God would mark the withdrawal of their confidence from him, the soldiers of Judas, who had again and again vanquished Bacchides, were now afraid of him, and deserted in such numbers, that Judas was left with only 800 men. By these he was counselled to retreat; but he refused, declaring that if his time was come he was prepared to die, but not to stain his honour. He engaged therefore with Bacchides at Eleasa, and desperately assaulting his right wing, broke it and pursued the fugitives to Azotus, slaying more than the entire of his own men; but the left wing pursuing after him, he was enclosed between two armies, and fell, overpowered by numbers. The remainder of his little band nevertheless made good their retreat, carrying off his body.

Thus fell the leader of the Maccabees, after a career of six years, distinguished by courage, talents, and piety. He never engaged in battle, except on this last occasion, without first seeking to propitiate God,—often by solemn fasting and humiliation, both of himself and followers; always by confession of sin and public intercession. Nevertheless, his piety was not without defects: upon one occasion he offered sacrifice for the sins of those apostate Jews who had fallen in battle, and upon whom were found, when their bodies came to be stripped, the same talismans and portable idols used by the heathen; which act, however benevolent in the intention, betrayed how greatly the doctrine of the more religious Jews was becoming darkened. On the other hand, the punishment of those apostates whom they captured alive, or whom they discovered in the conquered cities, was carried to a merciless extreme, commonly to the extermination of all whom they could find; which provoked retaliation from the

Greek party, when they had it in their power. Such was the spirit of the age.

JONATHAN. [A.A.C. 160.]—Judas was buried with great solemnity in the sepulchre at Modin, and was unfeignedly deplored by all who wished well to their country; his death being viewed as a serious blow to their cause, and a great public calamity. On the other hand, Bacchides, with the liberal faction of the Jews, enjoyed a momentary triumph; and those who hitherto had been intimidated by the energetic and determined proceedings of Judas, now began to take courage and shew themselves more decidedly on behalf of the Greek party; whilst Alcimus and his more immediate partisans wreaked their vengeance, by the slaughter and proscription of all whom they could find of the followers of Judas. Many, terrified by these proceedings, went over to the adversaries; the number of whom was increased by a scarcity, with which God also chastised the nation at this time, and which gave the Syrians, who had imported stores of grain, a greater influence.

Owing to these circumstances, Jonathan, the brother of Judas, on whom the command devolved after his death, found himself unable to make head against the enemy, and reduced to the necessity of withdrawing with a few followers into the wilderness of Tekoah. Here one detachment of his forces, under the command of his brother John, which was escorting his baggage and stores to a place of safety, was surprised by a party of Arabs, and all put to the sword ; which loss, though afterwards amply avenged, weakened Jonathan still more. Bacchides followed and pressed upon him ; but Jonathan, though cooped up by his position, withstood the whole force of the

Syrians with only his handful of troops, and having slain 2000 of the enemy, effected his retreat with his followers by swimming the Jordan. After this proof of his prowess Bacchides retired, and contented himself with strengthening the fortresses.

Things however soon after took a more favourable turn. For Alcimus, upon obtaining possession of Jerusalem, in order to evince his liberality toward the heathen, proceeded to pull down the wall, which separated between the court of the Gentiles and that of the Jews, in the space before the temple; and whilst superintending the work, he was seized with cramp and died in a few days in great agony. Bacchides was glad of this opportunity to retire to Antioch, and left Jonathan unmolested for two years.

At the end of this period Bacchides was again allured into Judea, by the representations of the apostate Jews, who described the increasing boldness of Jonathan as affording an opportunity for his easy destruction. But Jonathan, having discovered a plot of this faction to seize and deliver him up, seized fifty of them himself, as they approached him under the mask of friendship, and having put them to death, retired to a fortress in the desert of Jericho, called Bethbasi. Before this place, with the aid of his brother Simon, he gave Bacchides a signal defeat; which so enraged the latter against the Jews of his own party, that he put many of them to death, and once more resolved to retire ingloriously into Syria. Hearing of his intention, Jonathan proposed terms of peace, to the effect that the prisoners on both sides should be restored, that Jonathan should be governor of Judea, and that Bacchides should not again take up arms against him; which terms were both eagerly accepted and faithfully observed by the Syrian general.

[A.A.C. 153.]—Jonathan, upon being thus made governor, inflicted the usual severities upon the ringleaders of the apostates; whom he regarded as, and who unquestionably were, the real authors of all the troubles which the country had experienced; and next re-established once more the ordinances of divine worship, according to the Mosaic ritual. Providence soon improved their political circumstances to a greater extent. For Demetrius Soter, the king of Syria, having become odious to his subjects, the king of Egypt, who had an eye upon his dominions, raised up a pretender to the Syrian throne, named Alexander Balas. Both parties, perceiving the importance to them of the services of Jonathan, endeavoured to gain him over. Demetrius began by restoring all the hostages in the fortress of Acra, promising also to deliver the fortress itself. He likewise gave Jonathan authority to levy troops, (hoping in the end to enjoy their services;) and now that the people could enlist without offence to the Syrians, Jonathan soon raised a numerous and well-equipped army, and once more placed Jerusalem in a state of defence. On the other side, Balas sent him the purple and a crown of gold, and constituted him high priest. Jonathan assumed the office; but not without first calling a general assembly of the people, and having the appointment confirmed by them.

With the motives which induced Jonathan ultimately to determine for Balas we are not informed; but the result proved favourable to the Jews. Demetrius was slain, and Balas soon after married the daughter of the king of Egypt. Jonathan was invited to the nuptials at Ptolemais; received with great favour and distinction; and returned invested with additional powers.

But the conduct of Balas was not more grateful to the Syrians than that of Demetrius had been, and gave rise to fresh conspiracies and insurrections. Apollonius, the governor of Cœle Syria, first revolted, but being attacked by Jonathan, who remained faithful to his engagements with the king, he was defeated and slain. On this occasion Jonathan pursued the enemy to Azotus, and entering the town with them, set fire to the temple of Dagon, in which the fugitives had taken refuge, who all perished in the flames.

The king of Egypt presently after dethroned Balas, and made Nicanor, the son of Demetrius Soter, king, or rather viceroy, in his place. For his subjects this was again only a change from one profligate despot to another; and a rival was brought forward in the person of Antiochus, the son of Alexander Balas, who since his deposition had perished by treachery in Arabia. The citizens of Antioch soon after rose up against Nicanor, and besieged him in his palace. Nicanor sent immediately to Jonathan, promising a remission of taxes, and also to surrender up the fortress of Acra, if he would come to his help; upon which the latter, hastening with 3000 men to his relief, took Antioch by surprise. He then set fire to and plundered the city, and during the confusion and alarm, fell upon the terrified inhabitants and slew a hundred thousand of them. It is to be feared that upon this occasion Jonathan was prompted more by a spirit of vindictiveness against the Syrians of Antioch, on account of the repeated injuries the Jews had received at their hands, than by a zeal for the honour of God or the interests of Nicanor. God however, in permitting this terrible retribution, afforded an additional evidence, that none may maliciously oppress the seed of Israel, without meeting with due chastisement in the end.

Nicanor next provoked this chastisement: for considering himself to be now relieved from danger, he basely refused to give up the fortress of Acra to his deliverers, and moreover peremptorily demanded the taxes and the arrears which he had previously remitted. Disgusted with his perfidy, Jonathan now looked on, a silent spectator of the progress of the young Antiochus, by whom Nicanor was speedily vanquished and fled into Seleucia.

Antiochus was grateful. He confirmed the remission of taxes promised by Nicanor; and appointed Simon, the brother of Jonathan, to the important post of commander of all his forces in Palestine, and governor of the sea-coast, from the ladder of Tyre, a mountain near Sharon, to the frontiers of Egypt. This appointment proved serviceable both to the son of Balas and to the Jews. The two brothers defeated Nicanor, who, having raised an army of mercenaries, had penetrated into Galilee; and after several successful battles, they drove him beyond the limits of Syria. They recovered also for themselves Bethsura, in which the chief Jews of the apostate party had taken refuge, since the favourable turn in the affairs of the Maccabees; they gained possession also of Ashkelon, Gaza and Joppa; and soon after they defeated the Nabathean Arabs.

About this period Jonathan sent another embassy to Rome, which, like the former, was favourably received.[1] But disaster again followed upon this measure. The young Antiochus had been brought forward by one Tryphon, who had been governor of Antioch under his father, and who hoped by his elevation to aggrandize himself. Whether he aimed at the crown of Syria from the first is not certain; but he undoubtedly began to aspire to it now; and perceiving that so upright and powerful an ally of the young prince, as Jonathan, would be an impediment in his way, he resolved first of all to weaken the power of the Jews and to take off Jonathan. For this purpose, he by presents and flatteries ingratiated himself into the favour of Jonathan; persuaded him next to disband his army, under pretence that the apprehension of war was now past; and at the same time promised, if Jonathan would come attended only by a moderate escort, to surrender Ptolemais and other fortresses into his hands. Lured by the bait, Jonathan accompanied Tryphon, attended only by a thousand men, to Ptolemais; but no sooner had they entered the fortress than the gates were closed, and the whole were fallen upon and massacred; with the exception of Jonathan, who had been drawn aside by Tryphon, and was now thrown into prison. Here his cruel and perfidious jailor only spared him, until he had obtained a sum of money from the Jews under promise of releasing him; after which he still pretended that there was a debt of a thousand talents due from Jonathan to the king; but that if Simon would send this, and two of the sons of Jonathan as hostages, he should immediately be set at liberty. Simon mistrusted the hypocrite; but conceiving it most prudent to comply, he sent the money and the hostages; having received which, Tryphon murdered both the father and the sons.

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[1] At the same time a deputation was sent to the Spartans, to make a treaty of alliance with that state; the remarkable feature of which proceeding was, that the Jews addressed them as *brethren;* (for the Jews allege that the Spartans were the descendants of Abraham by Keturah, which relationship was acknowledged by the Spartans.) Some have concluded that *Spartans* has been written by mistake for *Sperdians.* But at the same time that such an hypothesis does not any better account for their kindred to the Jews, it is contradicted by the fact that the author of the book of Maccabees calls them also Lacedemonians. (Jos. Ant. lib. xiii.)

Thus fell the second of the Maccabean chiefs, after having rendered essential services to his country, and acquired a reputation little inferior to Judas. Simon obtained possession of his remains and deposited them in the sepulchre at Modin, over which he raised a magnificent cenotaph of white marble.

SIMON. [A.A.C. 143.]—Tryphon had already made one or two fruitless endeavours to surprise Simon, who, on the death of Jonathan, was by the Jews appointed his successor. Hoping to take him off his guard, he next suddenly invaded Judea; but withdrew, mortified and disappointed, on finding his adversary well prepared. Soon after this he murdered the young Antiochus, (giving out that he had died of the stone;) and declaring himself appointed his successor, seized upon the crown.

Incensed at the villany of Tryphon, Simon now sent an embassy to the dethroned Demetrius Nicanor, whom he offered to aid in recovering the throne of Syria, provided he would confirm him in his dignities, and the Jews in the privileges formerly promised. Demetrius eagerly accepted the proposal, and also spontaneously gave to the Jews the fortresses they were possessed of at this time. In the present circumstances indeed of Demetrius, these things could scarcely be deemed his to bestow; but the Jews were nevertheless gratified with the idea of having at length acquired something like the *name* of a state; the decree was engraved on brass tablets, and set up in the temple; and from that time they commenced a new era, dating their documents from the first year of Simon, in whose name also they were published.

An event still more agreeable to the Jews occurred in the year following. This was the evacuation of the castle of Acra at Jerusalem by the Syrian garrison; which having been closely watched by the troops of Simon, and become straitened from the want of provisions, at length capitulated, and was permitted to march out unmolested. The Jews took possession of it with great ceremony and rejoicing; after which they demolished it, and cleared away the eminence on which it stood to a level with the foundation of the temple;—a work not accomplished till after three years of incessant but enthusiastic toil, in which all the inhabitants took part.

[A.A.C. 140.]—Demetrius Nicanor failed after all in obtaining the throne, being attacked and taken prisoner by the Parthians; but his son Antiochus Sidetes took up the cause, and having confirmed the treaty of his father with the Jews, and allowed them also to coin money,[1] by their aid recovered the crown from Tryphon. The wretched miscreant fled and wandered from city to city, pursued by Sidetes, until at length he was betrayed and executed by the inhabitants of his native city, Apamea.

Whether Demetrius would have fulfilled his engagements to the Jews better upon this occasion than the former, cannot be told: from his son, Antiochus Sidetes, they had another specimen of Syrian faithlessness. For on finding himself seated in the throne, he peremptorily demanded the surrender of Gaza, Joppa, and the fortresses of Judea, or a tribute instead of 5000 talents of silver. Simon refused both to surrender the fortresses and to pay the money; with the exception of one hundred talents, as compensation for Joppa and Gaza; upon which Sidetes sent an army under Cendebeus to invade Judea. Simon, finding himself becoming too advanced in years to take the field himself, confided the army to his sons John and Judas. These gave battle to Cendebeus, in the inspiring neighbourhood of Modin, where they routed the enemy, killing 2000 of them, and returned without loss to Jerusalem.

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[1] Several of the coins of Simon remain. They are inscribed on the one side "*Simon prince of Israel;*" on the obverse "*Shekel of Israel,*" or *half-shekel*, according to their value; and are dated in the year of the deliverance of Israel, Sion, &c.

But a melancholy tragedy followed on this triumph. A daughter of Simon's was married to a Jew named Ptolemy; which marriage, though Ptolemy was of the Greek faction, Simon inconsistently permitted, and made his son-in-law governor of Jericho. Prompted by a wicked ambition, and being very wealthy, this miscreant conceived the design of murdering Simon and his three sons, and seizing upon the government for himself. To this end he invited them all to a banquet, to be given in honour of some family event, at a castle which he himself had built. At the appointed time, Simon, with his sons Judas and Mattathias, proceeded thither from Jerusalem. John likewise set-out from Gaza, but was providentially delayed upon the road. When the party at the castle had feasted *and had drunk freely*,—an incident which one could wish, for the credit of the pontiff, were not recorded,--a party of soldiers rushed into the apartment, and murdered Simon and his two sons, with all their attendants, save one, who contrived to mount his horse and escape.

Thus prematurely perished the three Maccabean chieftains: Judas in the field, Jonathan and Simon by the basest treachery.

Ptolemy immediately sent off a party to intercept and assassinate John; whilst he himself hastened with another party to take possession of Jerusalem before the news should transpire. But John, having been met by the fugitive attendant, and apprised of what had taken place, turned his horse and galloped to Jerusalem, where he arrived just in time to cause admittance to be refused to Ptolemy.

JOHN HYRCANUS. [A.A.C. 135.]—John, surnamed Hyrcanus, was immediately declared prince and high priest in the place of his father. Upon this Ptolemy, having vainly endeavoured to draw over the principal Jews, made overtures to Antiochus Sidetes, to whom he offered to deliver up the fortresses, and to subject all Judea to him, if he would assist him with an army and appoint him governor. Antiochus gladly accepted the terms; but before his army was in the field, Ptolemy, moved either by fear or remorse, fled to Philadelphia, (formerly Rabbah of the Ammonites, but rebuilt by Ptolemy Philadelphus,) and no more is known of him.

Antiochus however, having drawn together a numerous army, nevertheless invaded Judea; and John, finding himself unequal to cope with the greatly superior forces of the enemy, retired within the walls of Jerusalem, where he was closely besieged. Successes were obtained on both sides, and the siege was continued until the feast of tabernacles arrived; when John requested an armistice of one week, to enable him, as high priest, to celebrate the festival. Antiochus not only granted this request, but, beyond the expectation of the Jews, sent in for the occasion a number of victims and offerings from himself. This liberality led to negotiations for peace, which was concluded; but on terms humiliating to the Jews. They agreed to deliver up their arms; to surrender Joppa, Gaza, and other fortresses; to demolish the walls and fortifications of Jerusalem; and to give hostages for their future good behaviour.

John was faithful to his engagements with Antiochus; but not long after, the latter fell in battle with the Parthians, and rival candidates started for the crown of Syria. During the confusion occasioned by their contentions, John once more thrust out the Syrians, recovered the fortresses which he had given up, took others from the Syrians, and finding the want of some better fortification at Jerusalem now that Acra was destroyed, he again built a castle by the temple, which was called Baris.

The warlike talents of John now began to shine forth with considerable lustre; he conquered the Idumeans, and reduced their country to a province of the Jewish state, compelling the inhabitants to conform to the Jewish religion, and to be circumcised; a mode of propagating the true faith, which however congenial to the spirit of religion prevalent at this time, was not consistent with the law of God.

[A.A.C. 110.]—But the most popular action of his life was the conquest of the Samaritans. They had constantly sided with the enemies of Israel, and their city had been the refuge of all that were idolatrous, heretical, or profane among the Jews. Whilst they were besieged, Antiochus Cyzicenus, who had obtained the crown of Syria, came to their relief; but he was defeated and driven back with immense loss by Aristobulus, one of the sons of Hyrcanus; and the city being then taken, John destroyed the temple on Mount Gerizim, razed the city to its foundations, and desolated even its hated site by directing into it a number of pools and springs, which were on the hill, and overflowing it with water.

New troubles soon after began to agitate the nation, fomented within their own bosom, by the two extremes of a bigoted sectarianism and the reviving spirit of a careless liberalism. On the one hand the Pharisees, who had become the predominant party, were conspicuous for their overbearing insolence and vanity. No principle could be tolerable which they did not advocate; no action was right, if not performed by their party: piety consisted with them in a captious, vituperative, and self-sufficient dogmatism; and a zeal which contended only to increase the numbers of their sect, and for the mere externals and secularities of religion. On the other hand Hyrcanus, though nominally a Pharisee, was becoming far too lax; and with him necessarily a considerable number, who were influenced by his example and authority. The Greek names borne by three of his sons,—Aristobulus, Antigonus, and Alexander,—together with his friendly intercourse with the Sadducees, would cause him to be regarded with jealousy; but when the elder of his sons, Aristobulus, shewed himself so openly addicted to the customs of the Greeks, as to acquire the surname of *Philhellen*, and yet was not restrained by John, the Pharisees seemed no longer to doubt of his unsoundness. He was however still sufficient of a Pharisee to be boastful of his own righteousness, and to demand of his guests at a banquet, if they could point out any failure of his duty either to God or man; when a Pharisee named Eleazar objected to him, that there was a doubt of his being descended from Aaron, in consequence of his mother having been taken captive, and that he therefore had no right to the priesthood. Offended at this, and being informed by his friends that the calumny was generally believed among the Pharisees, he separated himself from their party and openly joined the Sadducees. From this period both he and his family were disquieted and embarrassed by the malicious detraction and factious intrigues of the exasperated Pharisees; from which however Hyrcanus himself was presently after removed by death.

ARISTOBULUS. [A.A.C. 106.]—On the death of Hyrcanus, his wife brought forward an alleged will of her husband, in which the government was left to her; but Aristobulus threw her into prison, and starved her to death. He then associated with himself in the government his brother Antigonus, to whom he was greatly attached; and shortly after sent him on an expedition to subdue the Itureans;[1] in which Antigonus completely succeeded, and incorporated them with the Jewish state, compelling conformity in religion, on the same terms as were granted to the Idumeans,—circumcision or banishment.

The wife however of Aristobulus was jealous of the affection which he showed to his brother; and as Antigonus returned from his expedition just at the conclusion of the feast of tabernacles, and hastened with several of his followers to the temple without putting off his armour, she wickedly represented this as an evidence, that they had designs against her husband's life. The king, in order to put him to the proof, sent a messenger to Antigonus, desiring him to repair to him immediately without his armour; and in the meanwhile posted guards in a gallery through which Antigonus must pass, with orders to dispatch him if he passed through armed. But the queen bribed the messenger to inform Antigonus, that her husband had heard the beauty of his armour highly commended, and desired to see him in it; on which the prince, repairing thus equipped to the palace, was slain. Aristobulus however was so filled with remorse at this deed, that it aggravated the symptoms of a complaint under which he was then labouring, and occasioned his death. His guilty wife thus unintentionally put an end to her own dignity, before her husband had completed one year of his government.

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[1] So called from one of Ishmael's sons: Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chron. i. 31.

ALEXANDER. [A.A.C. 105.]—Alexander, surnamed Janneus, the brother of Aristobulus, now became pontiff, and also assumed the diadem and title of king; though it is doubtful whether he, his father, or his brother first obtained this dignity. The author of the book of Maccabees assigns it to Hyrcanus, by a decree of the Roman senate; Josephus to Aristobulus; and Strabo to Alexander Janneus.[1]

The passion of Alexander was for war; and he immediately turned his arms against Ptolemais, which he would have taken; had not the inhabitants called to their assistance Ptolemy Lathyrus, then king of Cyprus. On the arrival of Lathyrus, Alexander raised the siege; but the inhabitants of Ptolemais, fearing to admit the king of Cyprus within their gates, he drew off from thence, and considered where he should employ his troops.

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[1] 1 Mac. ii. Jos. Ant. xiii. 11. Strabo, p. 762.

Hitherto the Asmonean princes had exhibited an uprightness and integrity in their proceedings with other powers, which afforded a striking contrast to the perfidiousness and treachery of the heathen. Alexander, however, evinced a disposition to copy the profligate example of the latter. He offered Lathyrus 400 talents to deliver to him the principality of Dora; and at the same time was treacherously negotiating with the queen of Egypt to attack Lathyrus. The latter conquered Dora, but having discovered in the meanwhile the machinations of Alexander, he attacked him; took 10,000 prisoners, whom he sent captive into Cyprus; and soon after, in a decisive battle, routed him with the loss of 30,000 men, and then ravaged Galilee. The queen of Egypt, happily for Alexander, appeared in the field, and capturing Ptolemais, compelled Lathyrus to draw off. Afterwards however, when she had Alexander in her power, she was about to put him death and seize upon his dominions; from which she was only prevented by the counsel of her general, who happened to be an Egyptian Jew.

[A.A.C. 96.]—Not cured by this punishment of his evil policy, Alexander soon after entered Gaza, under pretence of friendship; the word of the high priest of the Jews being implicitly relied on: but he suddenly fell upon the inhabitants and endeavoured to recapture the place; for it had revolted. The inhabitants however made a determined resistance; slew many of his men; put their own wives and children to death to avoid their falling into his hands; and next set fire to their dwellings, to disappoint him of his booty. He was therefore compelled to retire, reaping only discredit for his pains.

[A.A.C. 94.]—These things did not render Alexander more popular with the Pharisees, whose dislike to him and his family now attained to such an ungovernable pitch, that upon his return home to officiate as high priest at the feast of tabernacles, he was received with execrations by the populace, instigated by the Pharisees; and even pelted at the altar with the citrons, branches of which they carried in their hands at this solemnity. Such was the conduct of the professedly loyal and religious Pharisees to their sovereign and high priest! But there is no inconsistency into which a sectarian and secular spirit in religion will not lead men. Alexander punished them, by falling upon them with his guards, who were mercenaries, and cutting 6000 of them to pieces.

Hoping to appease the spirit of discontent by conquest, Alexander again departed to his favourite pursuit, and subdued the Moabites and the mountaineers of Gilead; but on his return, he was surprised by an ambush of Arabs in Gaulanitis, from whom he escaped with great difficulty, with the almost entire loss of his army. This further defeat caused the Pharisaical party to break out into actual rebellion; and even to call to their aid the detested Moabites and the Arabs. For six years the land was now scourged with civil war, which partook of all the rancour which bigotry and party spirit could infuse into it; and during which the blood of more than fifty thousand Pharisees was shed, besides the numbers which fell of the party of Alexander. He sincerely regretted the severities he was compelled to exercise; and, desirous to conciliate, he commissioned certain of his friends to communicate with the Pharisees, and to ascertain from themselves what concessions would satisfy them. Their reply strikingly exhibits their insolence and vindictiveness: 'Let him cut his own throat; and think well of us for being satisfied with so trifling a recompense for our wrongs.'

[A.A.C. 88.]—Hopeless of winning them by mildness, Alexander now made fresh preparations to subdue them by force of arms. But the Pharisees next called to their aid Demetrius, the governor of Damascus, who defeated Alexander at Shechem, entirely destroying several thousand foreign mercenaries, and the greater part of the Jews who were in his army, and obliging Alexander himself to take refuge with the remainder in the mountains. But many of the Pharisees' party, either pitying their king, or jealous of Demetrius, now deserted to Alexander; upon which Demetrius, apprehensive of a greater defection, returned to Damascus. Alexander then renewed the attack upon those who remained in arms against him, and after a series of successful engagements, at length terminated the rebellion by one decisive battle. He nevertheless did not consider himself secure until he had likewise put to death eight hundred persons of chief consideration among the Pharisees.[1]

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[1] It is to be hoped that Josephus, who was himself a Pharisee, has too hastily adopted the calumnies of his own party, when he relates that Alexander put to death the wives and children of these 800 before their eyes, whilst they were suspended on the cross; and sat down also himself with his wives and concubines to a magnificent banquet, during the time and at the place of execution. The account is both extravagant in itself, and at variance with the previous and subsequent conciliatory policy of Alexander.

Having by this blow effectually suppressed the power of the Pharisees, Alexander once more turned his attention to war. He subdued the district of Pella, captured several strong cities, and died at length in camp, whilst prosecuting the siege of Ragaba, after a reign of twenty-seven years.[1]

ALEXANDRA. [A. A. C. 78.]—Alexander bequeathed his kingdom to his wife, Alexandra, with power to associate with her in the government whichsoever of her two sons she might prefer, Hyrcanus or Aristobulus. Alexandra was inclined toward the Pharisees; and immediately on the death of her husband, she gave out that it was his last advice to her, to consult that party in all the measures of her administration. Whether this was really the case, or a politic device only of the queen, it had the immediate effect of establishing her in the throne. The Pharisees were delighted: they now discovered that her husband was a great hero; they regarded his dying counsel as an evidence of his contrition and return to their party; they honoured him with a magnificent funeral, and extolled the wisdom and piety of Alexandra. The queen then appointed her eldest son, Hyrcanus, a dull and indolent man, high priest; and thus for a short period the office of pontiff was separated from the crown. Aristobulus, her youngest son, an active and enterprising youth, was passed over, being feared by her.

That the Pharisees should immediately procure the revocation of all the edicts against their party, recal those who were banished, restore them to their estates, and likewise promote their own friends to all posts of authority and emolument, is not to be wondered at. But they were not satisfied with this: they persecuted the Sadducean party, putting many of them to death, especially those who had been the chief friends of Hyrcanus and Alexander; and carried themselves toward their adversaries with such intolerable injustice and oppression, that at length the more considerable went in a body to the queen, with the young Aristobulus at their head, and after recounting their services to her husband, humbly entreated that she would either extend adequate protection to them in Jerusalem, or place them in the more distant fortresses and cities, where they would be removed from persecution. Alexandra was affected by their representations; but, too much entrammeled by the Pharisees to adopt the juster course, she complied with their request of voluntary banishment.

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[1] That Josephus, in his account of Alexander, was under the influence of prejudice, is manifest from the circumstance of his being silent with regard to his later conquests, and intimating that he died of a disease brought on by intemperance and excess.

The queen soon after fell sick of a dangerous illness; when Aristobulus, conceiving that a crisis had arrived which called on him to act decisively, secretly quitted Jerusalem, and, going round to those fortresses to which the Sadducees had retired, represented to them the incapacity of his brother Hyrcanus, and that he would only become a tool in the hands of the tyrannical Pharisees. He easily gained over the fortresses to his views; for the Pharisees having also disgusted the military, (who were for the most part mercenaries,) by their arrogance and pride, the soldiers, as well as the Sadducees, were ready for a revolt. Alarmed at these proceedings, the Pharisees hastened to the queen and prevailed on her to nominate Hyrcanus her successor; soon after which she expired.

HYRCANUS. [A.A.C. 70.]—The period from the death of Alexandra to the end of the Asmonean dynasty was distinguished by the strife and contentions of the princes of that family, and by the civil warfare which it consequently entailed upon the nation. The first measure of the Pharisees was to seize the wife and children of Aristobulus, as hostages for his maintaining peace; and finding that they could not depend upon the soldiery at Jerusalem, they raised another army. Notwithstanding this, when the forces of the two brothers met in the plains of Jericho, the greater part of the new troops of Hyrcanus went over to Aristobulus; and overtures of peace being thereupon made by the latter, Hyrcanus readily consented to resign both the crown and the pontificate; his private patrimony, with security and ease, being guaranteed to him.

But if the supine Hyrcanus was thus easily disposed of, the Pharisees, his adherents, were not. Having associated with themselves Antipater, a nobleman of the Idumeans, now incorporated with the Jews, he first persuaded Hyrcanus to withdraw with him to Aretas, the king of Arabia Petræa; and next induced Aretas to undertake to replace Hyrcanus on the throne. Aretas accordingly invaded Judea at the head of 50,000 men, and, aided by the skill and experience of Antipater, totally defeated Aristobulus, entered Jerusalem, and shut up the fugitives within the fortifications of the temple.

In this strait, Aristobulus entreated the assistance of the Romans, whose armies were at this time in Syria and Asia Minor, under the command of Pompey. The consequences of this step were fatal to the Jews. Notwithstanding the frequent embassies and the valuable presents, which had been sent by the Maccabean princes to the Romans, the latter had rendered them little or no assistance; and the appeal to them on the present emergency had the immediate effect of depriving the Jews of that measure of independence, of which they had just begun again to taste the sweets; and of bringing in upon them that iron power, which after a century of oppressive and extortionate government, finally swept them all away with the besom of destruction. The Jews had immediately a specimen of the rapacity and caprice of the Roman commanders. Gabinius, who was first dispatched by Pompey into Judea, after accepting of Aristobulus a bribe of 300 talents, quitted him without doing anything in his behalf. Scaurus, who was next sent, pocketed the money of both parties; but as Aristobulus bid the highest, he peremptorily ordered Aretas to withdraw from Jerusalem; who being attacked on his retreat by Aristobulus, with such troops as he could collect from the neighbouring fortresses, was defeated with the loss of 7000 men. Pompey himself came next, who also treated with both parties, accepting all their presents, and giving to each fair promises in return; till at length Aristobulus, disgusted with his proceedings, and perceiving that the decision would ultimately prove in behalf of his adversary, quitted the camp of Pompey without rendering him the customary respects.

The haughty Roman was so incensed at the conduct of Aristobulus, that he immediately entered Judea and invested Jerusalem; upon which Aristobulus, perceiving that he had now nothing left but to bewail his own folly, and cast himself upon the clemency of Pompey, went forth to him and offered him a large sum, if he would refrain from further hostilities. The condition was agreed to, and Gabinius was sent with some troops to receive the money; but being refused admittance, Pompey in his rage put Aristobulus into chains, and laid regular siege to the city. The siege would have been difficult and protracted, had not the Jews been divided among themselves, and the spirit of fanaticism again predominant. The adherents of Hyrcanus admitted Pompey into the city; and when he from thence erected his engines against the bulwarks of the temple, the Jews would offer no resistance on the sabbath, but allowed him to fill up the ditch on that day, and make other advances without molestation. At the end of three months therefore, a breach having been effected, Pompey selected the sabbath-day for an assault. By a remarkable coincidence it was the anniversary of the capture of the city by Nebuchadnezzar; in commemoration of which the priests were observing a solemn fast, just when the Roman soldiers rushed in. They nevertheless continued their ministrations, and suffered themselves to be cut to pieces, as if unconscious that an enemy was present. Twelve thousand of the Jews perished by the sword, besides numbers who destroyed themselves rather than fall into the hands of the enemy.

Hyrcanus was now reinstated, but under circumstances exceedingly humiliating to the nation. He was shorn of his kingly authority, and forbidden to wear the diadem; he was compelled to restore to Syria the cities which had been taken from them by Hyrcanus and Alexander; the walls of Jerusalem were again broken down; Judea was included in the provinces of Syria, and occupied by Scaurus with two legions of soldiers; and the Jews were soon after called upon to pay a tribute to the Romans exceeding ten thousand talents.[1]

But the Jews were if possible still more annoyed by the profaneness of Pompey, whose curiosity induced him, spite of their earnest remonstrances, to enter the temple and penetrate into the holy of holies. He had the self-denial to leave untouched the sacred treasures; but the Jewish historians nevertheless notice, with truth, that from this period the affairs of Pompey began to decline; and after a series of disasters and vexations, domestic and political, he perished by the hand of an assassin in a foreign land, deprived of the ordinary rites of sepulture.[2]

[A.A.C. 56.]—The struggle nevertheless continued in the family of the Asmonean princes. Aristobulus was carried captive to Rome with his four sons and daughters; but during the civil wars and contentions, which soon after distracted the attention of Pompey, Alexander, the eldest son, found means to escape and return to Judea, where he was soon at the head of a considerable party. But he soon found that it was not Hyrcanus, with whom he had to contend, but the able and energetic Antipater; who, having in the meanwhile rendered essential service to the Romans, was cheerfully assisted by Gabinius. By his aid he soon defeated Alexander; whose life however was spared, on consideration of his surrendering up three fortresses which he had obtained.

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[1] Florus, iii. 5; Tacitus, Hist. v. 9; Cic. pro Flac. xxviii; Appian. Bell. Mith. cvi. cxiv.

[2] Plutarch's Life of Pompey. Cæsar. Comm. de Bell. Civ. iii.

At this time Gabinius changed the form of government to an aristocracy, leaving Hyrcanus the high priest, and dividing the country into five districts under five separate councils. The change continued for so short a period, that it would scarcely have required notice, were it not that it was apparently accomplished at the desire of the Jews, who had requested something of the kind of Pompey. From which it would seem, that they were not satisfied with the union of the regal power with the pontifical in the same person,—an exercise of authority which was promised exclusively to their expected Messiah.[1] It is surprising that this was never objected to the Maccabees, when the diadem was assumed by them; which was clearly an usurpation of the rights of the family of David, whose descendants were still living and known among them, though fallen into mean circumstances. But gratitude probably, to those who were the means of their deliverance from Syrian tyranny, would prevent such, as at an earlier period might think of these things, from giving utterance to them.

About the end of the same year Aristobulus himself contrived to effect his escape, together with his younger son, Antigonus; and to raise an army; but was defeated and again sent back prisoner to Rome; though the senate, in consequence of an obligation which Gabinius was under to the wife of Aristobulus, released Antigonus and his two sisters. Alexander also made another attempt, and at first with more of success; but he was in the end again defeated by Gabinius and Antipater.

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[1] Zech. vi. 13.

[A.A.C. 53.]—Gabinius soon after resigned the government of Syria, and was succeeded by Crassus, whose first act, affecting the Jews, was to plunder the temple of Jerusalem, from which he took away the treasure spared by Pompey to the value of ten thousand talents. But the anger of God manifestly in this instance pursued the spoliator. Crassus led his army from thence against the Parthians; which war has become remarkable in Roman history for the infatuation, disasters, defeat, and ignominious death of the Roman commander.[1]

Not long after this, the war broke out between Pompey and Julius Cæsar. Aristobulus, who was now fallen into years, as well as misfortunes, was liberated by Cæsar and sent into Judea, in the hope that he might prove serviceable to him against his rival Pompey. His eldest son Alexander, who was yet alive, joined him on his arrival. But Pompey, having contrived to poison the unfortunate parent, seized and beheaded the son, and thus quickly put an end to all apprehension of danger from that quarter. The remaining brother, Antigonus, fled with his mother and sister to Ptolemy Mennæus, prince of Chalcis, with whom they obtained a refuge.

Pompey however found an enemy in Judea, where he least expected it. The political sagacity of Antipater enabled him to foresee the probable issue of the contest between the two Romans; he therefore decidedly espoused the interests of Cæsar, and rendered him essential services in Egypt, where he also greatly distinguished himself by personal bravery and talent.[1] Cæsar in return made him procurator of Judea and a citizen of Rome, with certain appointments in the Roman army. The regal government was likewise, by the influence of Antipater, restored to Hyrcanus, with permission to re-fortify Jerusalem. Phasael, the eldest son of Antipater, was by him made governor of Jerusalem; and Herod his youngest son, who possessed, in addition to the abilities and bravery of his father, the advantage of an accomplished Roman education, was made governor of Galilee.

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[1] Plutarch, Life of Crassus; Florus iii. 11.

But the greatly increased power of Antipater did not please the Pharisees. They had gladly availed themselves of his influence and services to forward the interests of their own faction; but now that they saw him, as the Roman procurator of Judea, possessing a power greater in reality than that of Hyrcanus, and the counsels of the king himself likewise swayed by his influence, their jealousy was aroused, and they began to regard him with suspicion and dislike. The good conduct and energy exhibited by young Herod in his province, though of great benefit to the nation generally, tended rather to increase than to allay this jealousy. Owing to the civil wars which had now so long distracted the country, it had become filled with banditti. For when the soldiers raised by either party had been disbanded, or dispersed by defeat, dreading the vindictiveness of the opposite party, especially of the Pharisees, instead of returning to their homes, they had retired in bands to the caves and fastnesses of the wilderness districts, and existed by plunder. At length they had become so formidable as to attack bodies of troops, and to fight regular battles. But the vigorous and well-concerted mea-

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[1] Hirtus de Bell. Alex.;—Dion. Cass. lib. xlii.

sures of Herod effectually drove them out of Galilee, which province had been chiefly infested by them; and having captured their leader, Hezekiah, and several other chiefs, he put them to death, and thus struck terror into the remainder. The reputation which Herod gained by this enterprize only annoyed the Pharisees. They could not forget that he was of the hated Idumean race, and the son of Antipater; and though Hezekiah and his companions were outlaws, captured in open warfare, and executed by the lawful governor of the province in which they were taken, they sympathized with the robbers, and accused Herod of despising the authority of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, inasmuch as he had put them to death without their authority. They so wrought upon Hyrcanus also, in the representation of the matter to him, that, with a resolution unusual in that prince, he ordered Herod to appear before the Sanhedrim, and answer to the charges preferred against him. On the day of trial however, Herod appeared before his judges at the head of an armed retinue, and delivered a letter also from Sextus Cæsar, the Roman governor of Syria, to Hyrcanus, containing express orders to acquit him; by which means the attempt against him proved abortive. Herod, by the advice of Hyrcanus himself, withdrew to Damascus for a season; from whence his natural impetuosity would have prompted him to march upon Jerusalem with an army, and punish the Sanhedrim; but he was dissuaded from the attempt by his more temperate and politic father.

[A.A.C. 41.]—Just as Cæsar, at the instance of Antipater, was about further to enlarge the powers of Hyrcanus, and restore to him the fortresses which had been taken away by Pompey, he was assassinated by Brutus and his party in the senate house at Rome. Soon after this, Antipater was poisoned by the butler of Hyrcanus, to which he was bribed by Malichus, a person of distinction, who had fallen under the displeasure of Cassius, the new governor of Syria; and would have been put to death, but for the intercession of Antipater, whose kindness he repaid by this atrocity. The sons of Antipater speedily avenged their father's death by the destruction of the murderer.

After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, Marc Antony, the friend of Cæsar, came out to Syria; when the restless and untiring Pharisees, hoping to succeed better with him than they had accomplished with the previous governors, sent a deputation to him to Bythynia to complain against Phasael and Herod. But Antony, having known and valued their father, dismissed the deputies without a hearing. A second embassy was met by Antony at Daphne, near Antioch, who alleged that the entire power was usurped by the sons of Antipater, and that Hyrcanus was reduced to a mere cypher; but Hyrcanus himself, to whose grand-daughter, Mariamne, one of the most beautiful women of the age, Herod was now betrothed, appeared and pleaded in his behalf; on which Antony confided Judea to their entire care, and seizing fifteen of the deputies, would have executed them, but for the intercession of Herod. The Pharisees however, neither disheartened by severity nor softened by clemency, sent next an embassy of a thousand persons to meet Antony at Tyre; who, provoked by their importunity, now ordered his troops to attack them, and killed or imprisoned the whole.

[A.A.C. 37.]—Though these efforts did not succeed with Antony, they encouraged Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, who was watching in his retreat in Chalchis for an opportunity of obtaining the crown, to hope that he should now meet with sufficient support, owing to the dislike of the Pharisees, and of the Jews in general, toward the Idumean family. Nor was he in this respect deceived; multitudes flocked to his standard: besides which he was aided by the troops of Chalcis, and by the Parthians, who then had possession of Syria, and whose services he hired. After some fighting, it was agreed on both sides, in order to stop the further effusion of blood, that their differences should be settled by treaty; but whilst the negotiations were going on, the Parthians, with their characteristic wiliness and treachery, inveigled Hyrcanus and Phasael into their power. Herod was likewise aimed at, but perceiving the snare, and being informed of the capture of his brother and Hyrcanus, he made his escape into Idumea with a choice body of troops, and taking with him Mariamne.

In this manner Antigonus obtained a temporary possession of the throne. His first act was to mutilate Hyrcanus, by cutting off his ears, whereby he was incapacitated from holding the office of high priest. (Lev. xxi. 16—23). Phasael, hearing of this barbarity, destroyed himself in prison. The Parthians then retired into Syria, carrying with them Hyrcanus, and taking care first to plunder Jerusalem and the country round about.

In the meanwhile Herod lost no time in repairing to Rome, where his cause was warmly espoused by Marc Antony and Octavius Cæsar. He desired, however, no more than that Aristobulus, the brother of Mariamne, should be placed upon the throne; but his powerful friends determined to go beyond his expectations, and proposed to the senate that he himself should be made king of Judea. A decree to this effect, and for the deposition of Antigonus, was unanimously passed, and Herod, before he left Rome, was inaugurated into his new dignity.

On the return of Herod, he was, by an order of the senate, assisted by the Roman troops; and he raised a considerable army of mercenaries. Nevertheless, through the treachery of the Roman general, who was bribed by the Jews, he had well-nigh lost all; his troops were defeated by Antigonus, Galilee revolted, and Idumea was on the point of following its example. Herod, however, repaired the disaster, and the next spring, with increased forces, he laid siege to Jerusalem. After five months the city surrendered; on taking possession of which the Romans were guilty of great cruelty and rapacity. Even the temple was about to be again despoiled; but Herod, hoping to conciliate the Jews, bought off the Roman commander by a liberal donation.

Antigonus was sent to Marc Antony, who, with a savage vindictiveness, first scourged and then beheaded him. With his death the government of the Asmonean princes came to an end.

CHAPTER XI.

THE IDUMEAN PRINCES.

HEROD. [A.A.C. 34.]—The true characters of men, who pass their life in one even course, either of prosperity or adversity, are rarely known: it is change of circumstances, and the new class of temptations to which they are thereby exposed, that commonly serve to put them to the proof, and to elicit the latent principles, either of virtue or vice. This remark is particularly applicable to Herod. Up to this period he appears before us in history only as an impetuous and generous soldier; ardent in his attachments, fierce in his resentments, ambitious only of exercising to the utmost the power he had lawfully acquired, and rather injured by the Jews than injuring. But having been unexpectedly elevated to the throne, his character was greatly altered. He became jealous of every person whom he thought likely to invade his crown, and suspicious of every movement of his subjects which could possibly affect his sovereignty. And though he still endeavoured, by occasional acts of generosity, to conciliate the Jews, he exhibited a ruthless and sanguinary spirit, which hesitated at no atrocity, against those whom he feared or suspected or was angered by. His first act was to select forty-five persons of the party of Antigonus, all of whom he condemned to death and confiscated their property. He next proscribed the whole Sanhedrim, with the exception of two members, who during the siege advised a capitulation.

After these severities he turned his attention toward Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, the brother and the grandfather of his wife, both of whom he feared, because they were the next male descendants of the Asmoneans, and therefore regarded with affection by the Jews. He had already, through jealousy of the former, preferred an obscure person named Ananel to be high priest; but was compelled, by the loud remonstrances of Alexandra, the mother of Aristobulus, to depose Ananel and appoint her son. Observing, however, the increasing popularity of Aristobulus, he procured certain of his courtiers, subservient to his wishes, to invite the young prince to bathe, who then, pretending sport, contrived to drown him, and gave out that it was by accident. Herod affected the deepest sorrow, and ordered a magnificent funeral; but his hypocrisy was seen through, and to the dislike which previously existed of his family was now added a detestation of his person. The mother of Aristobulus wrote to Cleopatra, the famous, or rather infamous, queen of Egypt, entreating her to bring the matter before Marc Antony. Cleopatra the more readily complied, because she coveted Judea for herself ; on which Marc Antony commanded Herod to appear before him at Laodicea. His doom appeared to be sealed; but, by offering a large bribe to his judge, who was already prepossessed in his behalf, he obtained a verdict of acquittal, and the disappointment of Cleopatra was soothed with the province of Cœle-Syria.

Hyrcanus had been induced to quit Parthia, (at the urgent invitation of Herod, who procured his release from the Parthian king), and to confide himself to the hospitality and honour of his rival. He was treated by Herod with marked attention and respect; but presently after, on pretence of a treasonable correspondence discovered between him and the Arabs, he was put to death.

But a rod of scorpions was preparing for Herod in the bosom of his own family. He had a sister named Salome, a woman of ambitious and intriguing spirit, and under the influence of a malignant envy of Mariamne. Upon the departure of Herod for Laodicea he had entrusted the latter to the guardianship of his uncle Joseph; to whom he gave private injunctions, that, in case of his being condemned, he should put her to death, that she might not become the wife of another. On the return of Herod, Salome insinuated that Mariamne had been too intimate with his uncle; but Herod would not listen to the imputation, until he discovered,—by Alexandra, the mother of Mariamne, rashly upbraiding him with his barbarity,—that Joseph had communicated his secret. Upon this he put Joseph to death, and threw Alexandra into prison; but believing Mariamne to be innocent of the charge, he excused his intended cruelty toward her under the plea of violent affection.

God visited Judea at this time with various judgments. The first was a war with Arabia, which in the onset proved very disastrous to the Jews, though ultimately they came off victors. It was brought on at the secret instigation of Cleopatra; whose insatiable avarice had after all prevailed on Anthony to grant her the fertile district of Jericho, which then abounded in date-trees. On visiting Judea to take possession of this gift, she again coveted the entire dominions of Herod; and though the latter received her with great hospitality, and magnificently entertained and dismissed her, she nevertheless stirred up the Arabs against him. The cordiality, however, of Herod was only in appearance: he was in reality disposed to put her to death, being mortified at the loss of so fair a portion of his territory; but he was dissuaded from his purpose by the more sober advice of his friends.

The next visitation was an earthquake, which took place in the seventh year of Herod's reign, and was, for its severity, unparalleled in the previous history of Palestine. Thirty thousand persons were engulphed in the earth, or buried under falling buildings; and for a moment the nation, and Herod likewise, appeared to be seriously impressed. But it proved as the morning dew, and vanished when the cloud dispersed.

[A.A.C. 27.]—The defeat of his friend and patron Marc Anthony, at Actium, by Augustus Cæsar, again placed Herod in a precarious position. He advised Anthony to put Cleopatra to death, and to seize upon her kingdom and treasures, as the best means of delivering himself from her spells, and of repairing his shattered fortunes; but as Anthony rejected his counsel with disdain, he next repaired to Augustus, and assuming the air of confidence and frankness which formerly was natural with him, he plainly avowed his previous services to Anthony; but stated, that as Anthony had not thought proper to follow his counsel, he now felt himself at liberty to make an offer of his friendship to Augustus, whom he promised to serve with equal fidelity and zeal. Augustus was captivated by his apparent candour, and bidding him assume the diadem, received him as his friend. He soon after gave Augustus an earnest of his sincerity, by entertaining both him and his army, on their way into Egypt and on their return, with great profusion: conduct which Augustus as liberally recompensed, by restoring to Herod the district of Jericho, presenting him also with Samaria, together with Gadara, Joppa, and other fortresses, and likewise with 4000 Gaulish soldiers who had formed the body-guard of Cleopatra.

But no political aggrandisement or advantages could compensate for the increasing domestic troubles of Herod, brought on by his own jealousy, and fomented by the fiend-like malignity of Salome. Previous to his first visit to Augustus, as he had reason to fear for the result, he took the same course with his wife as previously, and confided her to the care of a nobleman named Sohemus; giving him secret instructions to put both her and her mother to death, in case of his failing in his suit. But they, suspecting from their former experience that this might be the case, managed to extract the secret from Sohemus; the consequence of which was the entire alienation of the affections of Mariamne, who, unable to conceal her anger and disgust, bitterly reproached Herod upon his return with his inhuman selfishness. Vain were now the protestations of his love: neither kindness nor threats could induce her longer to dissemble her aversion.

Salome, who had watched her opportunity, took advantage of a moment, when Herod was exasperated at his wife's coldness, to send to him his own cupbearer, bribed by her to declare, that Mariamne had solicited him to take off Herod by poison. The king, believing the accusation, immediately had her tried by a court consisting of his own creatures, who pronounced her guilty; but he nevertheless hesitated for awhile, whether to consign her to perpetual imprisonment or to death. In the mean time a lively interest was excited in her behalf among the Jews. She was the only remaining link of the house of Asmoneus, the memory of whose illustrious princes was now fondly cherished. She was young, beautiful, and virtuous, cruelly treated and infamously slandered, and moreover she now hated the man whom they hated. But their commiseration hastened her destruction: the artful Salome failed not by her report of these things to alarm and incense the jealous spirit of Herod, and procured from him an order for her execution. The unfortunate queen met her fate with great resignation and fortitude. On her way to the place of execution, she was met by her mother, who, hoping to save her own life thereby, reproached her with infidelity and ingratitude toward her husband. Mariamne meekly submitted to the imputation; but the unnatural Alexandra failed in her object, and was soon after put to death, unpitied and despised.

The disquiet of Herod was only aggravated by the execution of his wife. Love and remorse raged in his bosom by turns. He would passionately call aloud upon her name; then, awaking to the reality of his loss, burst into an agony of tears; and finally abandon himself to the torments of despair. This state of alternate excitement and depression brought on at length a dangerous illness, which nearly consigned him to the grave; and though he recovered from it, yet his temper became so much more suspicious, tyrannical, and cruel, that he was dreaded even by his friends.

In the meanwhile he became still more unpopular with his subjects, by his innovations upon the national manners, which he was endeavouring, in order to please the Romans, to conform as much as possible to their customs. He built a theatre within the walls of Jerusalem, and an amphitheatre without. He celebrated quinquennial games, had combats of gladiators, and promoted other heathen sports and entertainments. Like as in the time of Menelaus, there wanted not Jews sufficiently lax in principle to abet Herod in these proceedings; and his policy led him to increase and strengthen this party as much as possible, in order to counterbalance the influence of the fanatics. Those who advocated his measures were again chiefly of the Sadducees; which section of them came on that account to be called *Herodians*.[1] But the majority of the nation was still under the influence of the Pharisees; and when therefore Herod proceeded to adorn the exterior of his theatre with sculptured trophies and statues, the multitude, who could see no difference between them and the ensigns of idolatry, broke out into open insurrection. Ten of the fanatics bound themselves by an oath to assassinate Herod; but their plot being discovered, they were put to death with tortures. The multitude attacked the informer, and manifested both their rage and their barbarity by literally cutting his flesh in pieces and throwing it to the dogs. But the troops of Herod seized the ringleaders and put them to death, together with their entire families; by which means the insurrection was suppressed. The custom of binding themselves by an oath to effect any desperate or murderous enterprise afterwards became frequent among the zealots. (Acts xxiii. 21.)

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[1] That the Sadducees were generally Herodians is manifest from a comparison of Matthew xvi. 6, with Mark viii. 15, where the two names are used as identical.

[A.A.C. 22.]—This outbreak was followed by another serious visitation upon the entire kingdom. A long drought produced a famine, and its usual concomitant, a pestilence. Herod upon this occasion evinced great liberality. He threw open his granaries, maintained daily fifty thousand persons at his sole expence, and furnished seed corn to the agriculturists of his own dominions, and to the neighbouring provinces of Syria. But there was no public humiliation; and though the king purchased by his munificence a temporary popularity, the nation soon returned to its usual state of sullen dissatisfaction.

Herod was passionately fond of architecture; and in order to divert his mind from painful and embittering remembrances, new palaces, new fortresses and new cities were undertaken; whilst the more wealthy of his parasites, imitating his example, covered the country round Jerusalem with splendid villas and villages. Some of the more remarkable of the works accomplished by Herod are worthy of notice. He rebuilt Samaria, on a scale of great magnificence, and called it *Sebaste*, (the Greek word for *Augustus*) after his imperial protector. He founded a strong city on the sea-coast, between Joppa and Dora, which he filled with Greek colonists, and called it likewise, after his patron, *Cæsarea*. To protect the harbour both from human enemies and from the fury of the elements, he built here the famous tower of Straton, and formed a breakwater by sinking blocks of stone of the enormous bulk of eight thousand cubit feet, on which he erected a pier two hundred feet wide with walls and towers. He likewise built the castle of Antonia at Jerusalem, and other fortifications there, for the purpose of overawing the Jews, and affording a refuge for himself in case of insurrection. But that which may be considered his principal undertaking was the rebuilding and enlargement of the temple.[1] The foundations were of great depth; and some of the walls were raised from the valley beneath to the prodigious height of 300 cubits —upwards of 500 feet. The temple itself, or main building, was 60 cubits in length and 60 in height, with wings of 20 cubits each; the exterior of which was constructed of immense blocks of polished marble,[2] whilst the interior was of gold. The courts, the

[1] It has been disputed, whether the old temple, as Josephus states, was entirely pulled down, and a new one built in its place; or whether what was accomplished by Herod was merely a repair and enlargement. Dr. Croxall considers the account of Josephus an invention; and quotes Hegesippus relating, that Herod only repaired and beautified it. This is certainly the opinion of the modern Jews, as may be seen in the preface to Constantine L'Empereur's Commentary. It is nevertheless difficult to reconcile the description of it given by Josephus (and he was an eye-witness of what it was in his own time), with any notion of a mere repair or enlargement of the old one. It is manifest also that the statement in John ii. 20, that it was forty-six years in building could not apply to the period of Herod's reign, as that was not altogether so long. But we are not obliged therefore to conclude with Dr. Croxall, that the Jews referred to the period immediately after the return from the captivity; as they might include in their forty-six years the completion of the forts and towers, and other subsequent additions.

[2] It was apparently to these that our Lord's disciples drew his attention. (Mark xiii. 3.) Some of these blocks were 50 feet in length, 18 wide, and 9 deep.

porticoes and cloisters exhibited a corresponding magnificence.

But however proud and boastful the Jews ultimately were of their temple, Herod himself lost ground in their esteem, during the progress of the building, from various causes. One was, that with that criminal indifference to right principles, which in modern times has found many imitators under the name of *liberality*, he was at the same time erecting a temple at Cæsarea for a false and idolatrous worship, which he dedicated to Augustus. Another was, that he broke into the mausoleums of David and Solomon, (which were held by the Jews in great veneration, and had hitherto escaped the rapacity of all their conquerors,) and plundered them of the valuables deposited therein. He afterwards vainly endeavoured to atone for the outrage by erecting beautiful monuments of white marble at the sepulchres: the Jews only regarded them as memorials of the sacrilege; and never looked on them without execrating him. It is worthy of remark however, in this place, that the Pharisees so far caught the building mania of the age, that they erected ornamental cenotaphs and mausoleums over the graves of the eminent martyrs and prophets of former days.

A further source of disaffection to the Jews, and of domestic disquietude to Herod, arose out of his misconduct toward his sons by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus; who, because they were hers, were regarded with unusual partiality by the Jews. Salome, the evil familiar spirit of Herod, set her depraved ingenuity to work to foment mischief out of these circumstances, and not without success. False charges of designs against the crown and life of

Herod were repeatedly insinuated; and at length the fact that they had, with the unguardedness of youth, freely commented on their mother's death, was sufficient to establish a conviction of their guilt in the mind of the suspicious father. They were arraigned before a Roman tribunal; upon which occasion Herod pleaded against them in person, with great acrimony and vindictiveness; but they were nevertheless declared innocent, and Herod himself was reluctantly compelled to acquiesce in the propriety of the verdict.

Fresh charges were nevertheless industriously concocted by Salome, and by Pheroras, a brother of Salome and Herod; and at length Herod again arraigned them; when by bribing the judges, and omitting to summons to the trial Archelaus, the father-in-law of Alexander, (who was appointed one of the judges by Augustus, as a counterpoise to the influence of their own father,) he procured a verdict against them, and put them to death. This conduct of Herod is reported to have drawn forth from Augustus the keen but too just sarcasm, that he had rather be Herod's hog than his son.[1]

Herod had other children by various wives: one of his sons, named Antipater, had entered with avidity into the plot against his brothers, hoping that by accomplishing their death, the crown would devolve to himself. But he was afterwards detected himself in an actual conspiracy against the life of Herod, and put to death. During the proceedings, however, against Antipater, Pheroras, the brother of Herod, died; and from his widow and slaves Herod discovered, to his astonishment, that he likewise had been implicated in the conspiracy, together with other members of his family, and several persons of distinction; and—which affected him more painfully than all—the same examinations clearly established the innocence of the sons of Mariamne.

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[1] Macrobius.—Sat. 1. ii. 4. The remark is grounded upon the fact, that as a professed Jew, he would not eat, and therefore would not slaughter, swine.

Numerous executions followed upon this discovery, and the mind of Herod became, if possible, still more suspicious and mistrustful. He had a police continually on the watch; his spies insinuated themselves into all companies; and the unhappy being who ventured, in the confidence of the social circle, to utter words disparaging to the king, was seized in the dead of night, and hurried away to the Hyrcania, a castle from which scarcely any ever returned. He himself was even said to go about in disguise, in order to judge of the popular feeling concerning him; whilst such was the excitement and alarm in which he was continually kept, through apprehension of his subjects, that he would frequently start from his sleep, and cry aloud for help against imaginary assassins. To add to his wretched condition, God struck him with a dreadful and incurable disease, supposed to have been a corrosion of the intestines by worms, breaking forth into ulcers, which rendered him loathsome to others, and almost insupportable to himself.[1]

The last year of his reign proved the most sanguinary and despotic of his life; and one of the most remarkable also in Jewish history. Whilst the nation was declining more and more from the true knowledge of God, and public degeneracy of morals was increasing, the Almighty, previously to inflicting upon them his terrible judgments, proceeded, according to his usual manner, to visit them with extraordinary light and spiritual blessings, for the twofold purpose of calling out his election, and warning the nation of the coming wrath. A few persons of singular piety were yet to be found, of whom the names are preserved to us of Zacharias a priest, Elizabeth his wife, Simeon, Anna, all aged persons; likewise Joseph a carpenter of Nazareth, and Mary a virgin to whom Joseph was betrothed, both descended from David.[1] Among this little band of worshippers the gift of prophecy was now restored; and it had also been announced to them, by angelic visions, that a great prophet should be born at this time of the aged Elizabeth, and that the long-expected Messiah should be miraculously born of Mary, in her virgin state.

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[1] See Mead's *Medica Sacra*, p. 101, and Bartholinus *de Morbis Biblicis*, cap. xxiii.

A general impression prevailed at this period, not only in Judea, but also among the Gentiles, that a king was now about to appear, who should obtain universal sovereignty, and cause righteousness and peace everywhere to prevail. The Jews clearly inferred this from their sacred books; in which such a person is mentioned under the terms "the *Anointed*"[2] and "*the Just One;*" and he was familiarly spoken of by those who looked for him, as "*The Hope*" and "*the Consolation of Israel.*" The more carnal and fanatic Jews indulged themselves only in dreams of dominion under his empire, and washing their feet in the blood of their enemies; which greatly promoted in them a ferocious spirit of insubordination and contempt for the Gentiles. Multitudes also, who at various periods had groaned under the tyranny and rapacity of the Gentiles,—whether the power that oppressed them were Babylonian, Persian, Egyptian, Syrian, or Roman,—looked forward with desire to the appearing of the Christ, on account of the peace and stability promised in his days. But the more spiritual and only true believers, though out of much obscurity, looked also for the bringing in of an everlasting righteousness, and a glorious and eternal state of existence, in which all those promises made to the fathers, which had hitherto been so inadequately and transiently fulfilled, would have their complete accomplishment. Besides these expectations in the general, Daniel, the most revered of their prophets, had foretold that the Messiah was to appear within 490 years from the date of the decree to rebuild Jerusalem. It will have been noticed that there were four edicts or decrees in favour of the Jews in all; and the whole period of 490 years had passed away from the date of those by Cyrus and Darius, without Messiah the prince having appeared. The expectation therefore, among the scriptural and really pious Jews, would only become more intense, as the period from the third decree ran out; and we know from indisputable testimony, that such actually were at this time looking for redemption in Israel.[1]

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[1] The names of all these are worthy of remark upon another account: they are *Hebrew* names, and lead us therefore to fear, that the principles of the Greek or Herodian party, who commonly distinguished themselves by *Greek*, or, at this period, by *Italian* names, were incompatible with the exercise of genuine piety, whatsoever *forms* of godliness they might assume.

[2] The Hebrew word *Messiah* and the Greek word *Christ* both signify *The Anointed*.

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[1] Luke ii. 25, 38. It was not clearly understood at this period, that the term of "seventy weeks," or 490 years had reference to the *death* or cutting off of Messiah; and that he must necessarily appear *before* its expiration. Some of the Jews also computed the period from the *destruction* of the temple, instead of from the decree to *rebuild* it;

As regards the expectation of this deliverer among the Gentiles, Tacitus and Suetonius afford evidence that it existed:[1] whence it was derived by them is matter of interesting inquiry. As respects its prevalence east of Judea, we can hardly doubt that it must have had its origin from the Jewish prophets; seeing that in the times of Daniel and Esther many became Jews in Babylonia and Persia, and that Daniel was also appointed chief of the Magi, whom he would no doubt instruct from the true oracles of God. North and south of Palestine it would probably likewise be conveyed by the numerous Jews, colonized in the different cities and provinces of Syria and Egypt; more especially at that period when they were on friendly terms with the heathen. In some measure it might thus have travelled into the west; but besides this, very extraordinary predictions were contained in the Sibylline oracles, preserved at Rome, concerning a king of righteousness and peace; which, from their correspondence in various important particulars with the sacred writings, and almost with the language of Isaiah in some places,[2] must either have been derived from some acquaintance with the Jewish prophets, or from ancient prophecies existing among the Gentiles, previous to their general corruption and departure into idolatry.[3]

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whence their expectation of the appearing of Messiah must have begun about A.A.C. 96. (Josph. Ant. xiii. 11; Bell. i. 3; Eusb. Chron. No. 1913.)

[1] Tac. Hist. lib. v. c. 13; Suet. in Vit. Vesp. sect. 4.

[2] See Virgil's Pollio, who avows that the expected king there described by him, is drawn from the Sibylline oracles.

[3] Bishop Horsley, in his "Dissertation on the Prophecies concerning the Messiah," though he rejects much of the history of these oracles, as fabulous, proves nevertheless the actual existence of them long previous to the birth of Christ. One of Cæsar's party, when en-

[A.D. 1.]—In this state of things, and in the last year of the reign of Herod, Jerusalem was surprised by the appearance of a company of Magi from the east, bearing valuable presents in gold and spices, as offerings to the king Messiah, of whose birth they declared they had been divinely apprised by the appearance of an unusual star or meteor;[1] and they now inquired where he was, in order that they might render him due worship. The whole city was thrown into commotion by this event, more especially Herod, who though now in the seventieth year of his age, and afflicted with the fatal disease just described, had all his natural jealousy aroused, and trembled for his throne. He adopted however a specious and hypocritical course. Affecting to be deeply interested in the inquiry on religious grounds, he first convened the Sanhedrim, and having demanded of the scribes there assembled, where the Christ was to be born, was correctly answered by them, from the prophets, that it was in Bethlehem. He next sent for the Magi, carefully inquired of them the time when the star

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deavouring to procure for him the sovereignty, alleged from them a passage, to shew that such a step would be consistent, inasmuch as there was to arise about that time one who was to become universal king. Cicero, who was a member of the Augural college, in which these books were kept, replying to the above senator, denied the passage quoted by him to be a *prophecy*, on account of the want of phrensy and incoherence in the writer; but does not dispute the existence of such a passage in the Sibyl. About a century before Christ, the temple which contained these books was destroyed by fire, and the books consumed; on which the Roman senate sent persons to collect their contents from the copies or fragments existing in other places. By these a thousand verses were collected and afterwards arranged.

[1] As the discovery of a fresh star, or the appearance of a comet or meteor, could have been no very unusual circumstance in itself to the astronomers of the east, there must have been some previous *divine* intimation to this pious company, and the appearing of the star must have been promised as the token of its coming to pass.

appeared, and then dismissed them to Bethlehem, with strict injunctions, should they discover the child, to return and inform him, in order, as he pretended, that he might render due homage likewise. So much did he apparently assure himself, that this crafty plot must succeed, that he neglected the precaution of sending an armed escort with the strangers, by which he must, humanly speaking, have better insured his object.

The Magi set forth, and were divinely directed, not only to Bethlehem, but to the very place where the infant Messiah was lodged. There they were permitted to behold and worship the great mystery of godliness,—that divine Being, who had appeared to the Jewish patriarchs,—who had led up their nation from Egypt by the pillar and the cloud,—who had ever been the guide, the corrector, the deliverer and the avenger of Israel,—now incarnate in all the helplessness of childhood, and also in circumstances of apparent poverty.[1] But not staggered at these things, the Magi joined in the devout worship of the humble but pious company which they found there; and having presented their offerings, were warned of God to return by another route into their own country.

Joseph, to whom Mary, the mother of the infant king, was betrothed, received also a divine admonition to retire with the child into Egypt. His usual residence was in Galilee; but owing to a decree of Augustus Cæsar, requiring every individual throughout his dominions to be enrolled in his native city,

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[1] The poverty of the family of David at this time, though questioned by some, is nevertheless manifest from Mary offering the poor woman's offering for her purification. Compare Luke ii. 24. with Lev. xii. 8.

Joseph had proceeded with Mary to Bethlehem; and by the providence of God, whilst they were there, Jesus, the Messiah was born; whereby also was fulfilled the prophecy concerning the place of his birth. (Mic. v. 2.) Joseph, therefore, obeying the warning of God, instead of returning to Galilee, went with Mary and the infant Messiah into Egypt; where he doubtless kept secret the real dignity of his charge, so that it was not known either to the Jews of Alexandria, or of other parts of that kingdom.

It has been inferred by many, that the circumstance of the child of Mary being born in a stable at Bethlehem, (which was actually the case,) arose from the inhospitality of the inhabitants, occasioned by the mean appearance of the visitors. Much may be said on the contrary side of the question; but certain it is, that if the people of Bethlehem were guilty of any indifference or neglect, they paid dearly for it afterwards. For when Herod discovered that the Magi were returned into the east, he caused a slaughter of all the male children of Bethlehem and its vicinity under two years of age;—hoping by so wide a range, that he must have accomplished his purpose. It is probable that the great mass of the Jews concluded the same: at all events, wonderful as were the events of this period, and easy to be ascertained by inquiry, —great also as was the sensation created in the first instance by the arrival of the Magi,—the city soon relapsed into its usual course of worldliness and strife, and all seemed presently forgotten.

Herod rapidly declined in health after these events, and a knowledge of the hopeless character of his complaint getting abroad, Judas and Matthias, two of the more popular of the Rabbins, excited their disciples to pull down the statues and other sculptured ornaments, with which Herod had adorned Jerusalem. The king however was sufficiently energetic to seize forty of the ringleaders, and to preside at their trial in person; which he removed to Jericho because he could not rely upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem. On their conviction Herod ordered the two Rabbins and their accomplices to be burnt alive, and deposed the high priest, whom he suspected of having winked at their proceedings. Sensible at length that his death was at hand, and irritated beyond measure at the consciousness that his decease would be an occasion of rejoicing to the Jews, he finally determined to signalize his death and to avenge himself by the enactment of another bloody tragedy. He summoned all the nobles and chief officers of the Jews to repair to Jericho, and there to assemble in the circus, as if to deliberate on some important affair; but as soon as they were convened together, he surrounded the circus with his guards, and made them all prisoners; having done which, he gave strict orders to Salome and Alexas, her husband, to massacre them immediately after he should have expired, in order, as he said, that he might ensure a *real mourning* at his death. He expired a day or two after in great agony, both of body and mind; but this last request, like many other injunctions of dying tyrants, does not appear to have been seriously heeded: Salome and her husband wanted the courage, the power, or the inclination to carry it into effect.

Herod had in all ten different wives, the names of some of whom are not mentioned; and it will only be necessary, in order to elucidate the subsequent history, to state here, that by Malthace of Samaria, one of those wives, he had two sons, Archelaus and Antipas; by Cleopatra of Jerusalem, another of them, he had also two sons, named Herod and Philip; by Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, the high priest, he had one son named Herod; and by the first Mariamne there were grand-children surviving, offspring of the unfortunate Aristobulus.

Herod died immensely rich, and among numerous considerable legacies he bequeathed to his friend and patron Augustus ten million pieces of silver (probably shekels) with all his valuable plate and wardrobe, and five million pieces of silver to the empress Julia; but, excepting a few valuables which he retained as memorials, Augustus generously distributed his own portion among the princes of Herod's family. The territory of Herod, which had been greatly increased by the liberality of Augustus, was thus left: Archelaus was appointed king of Judea; Antipas was made tetrarch of Galilee and Perea; and the districts of Trachonitis, Gaulon, Batanea and Panias were formed into a tetrarchy for Philip.

The grandeur and wealth of Herod, and the extent of his dominions, caused his kingdom to appear great and powerful; but it was rather in *appearance* than reality: it was contingent on the breath of Rome; insomuch that Herod could not even proceed to make his will, until he was expressly permitted by Augustus; and the next individual, who should fill the imperial throne, might dissever the kingdom at his pleasure.

HEROD ARCHELAUS. [A.D. 2.][1]—The stern

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[1] All chronologists agree that our vulgar era is too late; though they differ as to the number of years: but to avoid perplexity to the

despotism of the first Herod, though it alienated from him the affections of his subjects, had nevertheless inspired them with fear, and served to keep down, in a great measure, the growing disposition of the Jews to insubordination and rebellion; but no sooner was he removed, than the kingdom became a prey to continual factions and seditious movements among the people, and to cabals and intrigues of the Herodian princes among themselves.

At first affairs wore a promising aspect; for Archelaus appeared desirous of conciliating his subjects; and in a public assembly informed them, that he should not assume the title of king until he had been confirmed in it by Augustus; and that he should then endeavour to render his reign happier, than that of his father had been. This declaration appeared to afford universal satisfaction; but the Jews were immediately encouraged by it to prefer numerous requests, which were urged in an arrogant tone. Among other things they demanded the death of the parties, who had advised the execution of the rioters in the recent tumult; and the restoration of the deposed high priest. In vain did Archelaus represent to them, that he did not yet consider himself authorised to act in the matter: the persons deputed by him to plead with the Jews were assailed with stones; and the soldiers sent to their aid were attacked in like manner. Upon this Archelaus marched down the whole of the royal guard to the temple, killed about 3,000 of the rioters, and by this example of severity effectually suppressed the disturbance.

But the public declarations of Archelaus, that he

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reader, in the period subsequent to the birth of Christ, it is deemed expedient to adopt the vulgar era.

considered the sovereignty at present in abeyance, encouraged the members of his family to intrigue. By a former will of Herod, Antipas was nominated his successor; and this prince therefore, dissatisfied with the change subsequently made, went to Rome, at the same time with Herod, in order to assert his claim to the throne, on the ground that Herod was not in a sound state of mind when he made the latter will. Salome secretly abetted Antipas, but with her usual hypocrisy professed, in setting out for Rome, that she went to support the claims of Archelaus. The Jews, having no regard for either party, sent a deputation to request that they might be incorporated with the Roman empire. Augustus impartially investigated the affair, and finally determined to place Archelaus over Judea, Samaria and Idumea, with the title of *Ethnarch* only, and the promise of the diadem in case he proved himself worthy of it. The remaining provinces were divided between Antipas and Philip, with the title of tetrarch as before.

Serious commotions broke out during the absence of these princes. The principal one was occasioned by the rapacity of Sabinus, an officer sent by Varus, the governor of Syria, to demand the treasures left by Herod to Augustus. Resolved to avail himself of the opportunity to enrich himself, he made an attempt to surprise the fortresses in which the treasure was deposited; failing in which, he seized the temple and plundered it of four hundred talents and many valuables. Upon this the Jews, in a state of great irritation, rose to arms, attacked Sabinus and his troops in the temple, and drove them with considerable loss into the palace. Here they regularly besieged them, and were on the point of compelling them to a surrender, when Varus arrived with his legions, and delivered them from their perilous condition. Sabinus, who was the real cause of the insurrection, was permitted by Varus to escape with impunity; whilst of the Jews, who had been grossly injured, he crucified two thousand persons.

During the excitement and disorder occasioned by the proceedings of Sabinus, Judas of Galilee, the son of that Hezekiah, a leader of banditti, whom Herod had put to death in the time of Hyrcanus, (p. 379,) deemed the opportunity favourable for exciting a more general spirit of rebellion. He gave out that the taxation now going forward, and which had first commenced when Quirinius, or Cyrenius,[1] was prefect of Syria, was unlawful, inasmuch as the Jews were God's people, and instead of paying tribute to foreign princes, ought rather to have dominion over all themselves. A doctrine so flattering to the vanity and selfishness of his countrymen procured for him many followers, and seizing the public armoury he supplied them all with weapons, proclaimed himself king, and even gave out that he was the Messiah. Though he was soon overcome and slain by Varus, and his followers scattered to the winds,[2] his doctrine was not so easily destroyed. This struck deep root among the more fanatical and lawless of the Jews, and a new sect arose at this time, maintaining his opinions, who were called *Galileans*, from the circumstance of his chiefly frequenting that province, and *Gaulonites*, because Judas himself was of Gamala, a city of Gaulonitis.[3]

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[1] Luke ii. 2.

[2] Acts v. 37.

[3] Josephus calls Judas both a *Gaulonite* and *Galilean* (Ant. xviii. c. 1, 2. Bel. Jud. ii. c. 8.) and Gamaliel calls him of *Galilee*, (Acts v.

After the death of Judas, a slave of Herod Antipas assumed the diadem; and another who claimed to be Messiah, named Athronges, asserted also his right to the throne. Each of these, and various others who arose, obtained a band of followers, and committed depredations and atrocities; and the number of the lawless was increased by 2000 Idumean soldiers who had recently been disbanded, and who for the most part joined themselves to the different troops of marauders. Varus however succeeded in destroying these impostors, and scattering their forces.[1]

The return of Archelaus to assume the government did not restore tranquillity. The circumstance that Augustus had placed him on the trial of his good conduct was impolitic; for his subjects, encouraged by their knowledge of this fact, became insolent in their deportment, and engaged in factious proceedings against him, in the hope of still removing him. How far these things rendered Archelaus otherwise than he was disposed to be, and provoked him to severities, may be reasonably questioned; but that he did, upon his return from Rome, obtain an odious character for tyranny and cruelty, is agreed by all the historians of those times. It is manifest also from the fact, that Joseph, returning with the child Jesus out of Egypt at this time, feared, from the evil repute of Archelaus, to settle in Judea,[2] and went instead into Galilee, where Herod Antipas

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37.) Judas has been confounded also with *Theudas* or *Thaddeus;* but the last quoted place proves them to have been different impostors. Our Lord has been thought to have given countenance to their *doctrine,* Matt. xvii. 24—27. The same passage however most clearly disapproves their *practice* of making resistance to the tribute, however unlawful it might have been in itself.

[1] Tac. Ann. lib. v.

[2] Matt. ii. 22, 23.

ruled. His caprice and avarice, in repeatedly deposing the high priest, and granting the office when vacant to the highest bidder,[1] and his severity and oppression of his subjects in general, caused Augustus at length to banish him to Vienne in Gaul, and to comply with the request of the Jews to be incorporated with the Roman empire. Thus, at their own solicitation, did the sceptre pass away from Judah.

INTERREGNUM. [A.D. 12—38.]—After the deposition of Archelaus, a succession of Roman procurators—Coponius, Ambivius, Annius Rufus, and Valerius Gratus—governed Judea down to the year 26. During this period nothing occurred worthy of note, excepting the pollution of the temple by a company of Samaritans, who, at the feast of the passover, contrived to enter at night at the open gates with a quantity of dead men's bones, which they strewed about;—a circumstance which did not tend to mitigate the deadly hatred of the Jews toward the Samaritans, and which at this time had grown to such a height, that the Jews would not trade or hold intercourse with any of that nation, but by necessity.[2] Salome also died during this period; with the particulars of whose decease we are not informed: God having thought it best, in her case, to cast a veil over her last moments, until that day when she shall stand before his judgment seat, and give account of the deeds done in the body.

[A.D. 26.]—Augustus was succeeded by Tiberius, in the twelfth year of whose reign Pontius Pilate was made procurator of Judea. Under his government the people discovered that, in praying for Roman procurators, instead of being satisfied with Idumean kings, they had only exchanged the serpent for the cockatrice: for he is described as a great oppressor and plunderer of the people, and as disposing of justice, or rather of power, to those only who could afford to pay exorbitant bribes for it.[1] He gave offence immediately on his appointment, by sending a body of troops before him from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, having the images of the emperor on their standards; a practice which had hitherto been dispensed with, out of deference to the national religion. Many Jews therefore repaired to Cæsarea, for the purpose of expostulating with Pilate; to whom he manifested the sullen temper in which he had arrived, by suffering them to attend five days before his palace, without vouchsafing them an audience; and then on the sixth day apprehending them and threatening them with death unless they returned home. The Jews however bared their necks, and offered them for the stroke, declaring that they would rather die than that the images should remain in their capital; upon which Pilate, perceiving that obstinacy on his part would be attended with serious consequences, gave orders for the standards to be removed.

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[1] It would be a matter of no interest to follow now the succession of the high priests; and often would very inconveniently interrupt the regular course of the narrative. It may suffice here to observe that the proper succession had long been disregarded.

[2] John iv. 9.

On his arrival at Jerusalem, Pilate soon betrayed his rapacious and tyrannical character. He demanded large sums from the public treasury for the alleged purpose of building an aqueduct; but he appropriated the money to his own use; and when the Jews, on his appearing on the public tribunal in the Gabbatha or Pavement, came about him to remonstrate, a number of soldiers, who were mixed with the multitude in disguise, having clubs concealed under their garments, suddenly fell upon them, and beat them so violently that many were killed.[1]

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[1] Phil. Leg. ad Caium.

The state of religion among the Jews at this period was remarkable. Never was there a more general zeal against idolatry; never was the sabbath more rigidly observed; nor the passover and the other great festivals better attended, both by the Jews of Palestine and those in foreign lands. Fasting, alms-giving, and prayer were also frequent religious acts, especially with the Pharisees. But all was heartless. The unclean spirit of idolatry had indeed gone out from the nation, in his undisguised and manifest form; but he had returned and taken possession again in a more specious and subtle character, and with seven-fold power, because not suspected. The Pharisees had now become decidedly the predominant party, both in numbers and in respectability, and were divided into various sects among themselves. Some of these sects resembled the fanatical devotees of Hindostan, and were equally gazed upon with wonder and admiration by the multitude: these were the *truncated*, the *mortar*, and the *striking* Pharisees. The first walked with their arms hanging down, and with short and slow steps, so that their feet were not seen, as if they were in meditation;—the second class had a large bonnet or cap, widening at the top like a mortar, the object of which was to shroud them from observation, and under which the head was bent toward the ground in continual contemplation;—whilst the third class walked with their eyes closed, to avoid the distraction of external objects, especially of women, and often struck themselves by inadvertency or design against the walls.[1] Others were distinguished for their rigorous observance of the law, or rather of the traditions. They debated whether it were lawful to ride upon an ass, in order to take it to water on the sabbath day, or whether it must be led;—if an egg laid upon the sabbath might be eaten;—if as many letters of the alphabet might be written on that day as would make sense;—if a person ought to walk over newly-sown land on the sabbath, lest he should inadvertently press some of the scattered grains with his feet into the ground, and so be guilty of performing labour.[2] Equally scrupulous were they concerning the putting away leaven before the passover; and the washing of cups and platters before cooking and meals.[3] The law was not altogether discarded; but its weightier matters were neglected for the sake of such additions and traditions as the above; or for merely curious and puerile notices of the *letter* of holy writ.[4] By these means the counsel of God was darkened, to the great perplexity and damage of sincere inquirers; whilst the teachers themselves, having forsaken the true light for the doctrines of men, fell as a natural consequence into ungodliness and immorality, which they nevertheless practised or encouraged under the sanction of some tradition.

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[1] Philo. Leg. ad Caium.

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[1] Godwin's Aaron and Moses, p. 45, Talmud. Tract. Suta, cap. 3.

[2] Buxtorf, Synag. cap. xi. It is probable that it was to this sect, thus strict and rigorous, that Paul belonged. (Acts xxvi. 5.) They were apparently Pharisees of the same character who accused the disciples of our Lord of breaking the sabbath, in plucking the ears of corn and rubbing them in their hands. (Luke vi. 1.)

[3] Buxtorf, Syn. cap. xi. Mark vii.

[4] The rabbins of Tiberias in the following century published the accumulated labours of their predecessors in this branch of study, together with their own in the same way. They instance how frequently each particular word occurs in the Scriptures; how many words there are in each book, and what is the middle word in each; and even the number of times that every letter of the alphabet is repeated; as א 42,377 times, ב, 36,218 times, &c. Nevertheless, though these studies were frivolous in themselves, and unprofitable

It has been noticed in a former chapter (p. 325,) that they were becoming covetous, vindictive, and adulterous:[1] besides proceeding to greater extremes in these matters, at the period now under consideration, we have indisputable evidence also of the formality and hypocrisy of the Pharisees, of their extortion and excess, their oppression and unrighteousness, their pride, ostentation, and worldliness.[2] The sect called Galileans, or Gaulonites, were becoming daily more conspicuous for their furious intolerance. To the most extravagant pretensions, because they were Israelites, to the favour of God, they added an increasing contempt for the men of all other nations; and whilst their unarmed partisans within the city were constantly ready to promote sedition and rebellion; the armed bands of them in the wilderness hesitated not at violence and murder, if they could get into their power those who had rendered themselves obnoxious by their sentiments or conduct. Their ranks were chiefly supplied by the more igno-

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to the parties, they became in a later age useful to the church of God, as providing a means of proving that the text of Scripture had not been materially corrupted. So far, therefore, "out of the eater hath come forth meat."

[1] They allowed the man to put away his wife for the most trifling offences,—as for letting the broth burn, and the like; and even if a man found a woman handsomer than his wife. (Arbah Turim, Hilchoth Gittin, i. See also a modern tract called *Old Paths*, p. 181.)

[2] Matt. v. viii. xv. xxiii.

rant and bigoted of the disciples of the Pharisees; who, in proportion as they were fanatical and blind, became ready tools, in the hands of the more designing of their party, for perpetrating any mischief.

The Herodian party of the Sadducees might now also be divided into two sections: those who, without casting away Judaism, desired to break down its proper barriers, for the sake of admitting unproselyted heathens to its rites;[1] and those who conformed to heathen rites and customs for the sake of social intercourse with the Gentiles; especially when in foreign cities.

Such was the state of the Jewish nation at this time, requiring more than ever a prophet to arise among them, and to direct their attention again to the only true light; and it was just this period which God chose for the manifestation among them of two of the greatest prophets which had ever appeared.

[A.D. 29.]—The first was John, by which name the child was called who was born of the aged Elizabeth and Zechariah in the last year of Herod's reign. He had now attained the age of thirty years, and being filled with the Spirit of God, commenced his public ministry in the wilderness of Judea, rebuking the prevailing sins of all classes with the power and fearlessness of an Elijah. His ministry commanded general attention, and he was followed by multitudes, who, professing repentance of their sins, were baptized by him. From the righteousness and austerity of his life, and the intrepidity of his course, many were disposed to conclude that he must be the expected Messiah; but whilst he declared, on the one hand, that the Messiah was indeed now among them, though unknown, he, on the other hand, as constantly denied that he himself was more than his fore-runner.

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[1] These appear to be alluded to in the admonition, Not to give that which is holy to the dogs.—Matt. vii. 6.

John was presently imprisoned and beheaded by Herod Antipas, who with his brother Philip continued to rule in their respective tetrarchies. Herod was at first favourably inclined toward John, and listened with complacency to his doctrine; but being afterwards reproved by him, for having seduced away Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip, he was offended, and sent John prisoner to the castle of Macherus, where Herodias, who was still more exasperated at being reminded of her infamy, soon found an opportunity of procuring his death. This deed did not go unpunished. The proper wife of Herod was a daughter of Aretas, the king of Arabia, and was put away by Herod at the instigation of the same Herodias; but the father of the repudiated princess, incensed at this indignity, made war upon Herod, and in one battle entirely destroyed his army. This signal catastrophe is ascribed, even by the historian Josephus, to the anger of God against Herod for his persecution of John the Baptist.[1]

Previous to the death of John, Jesus had commenced his public ministry. The course of that divine Being, who had exhibited such mighty acts, when he led up the nation out of Egypt, gave them the law in Horeb, and conducted them into Canaan, could not fail of being wonderful, though he was now veiled in human flesh; but the manifestations of his character and nature, which he vouchsafed at this time, were chiefly remarkable for the condescension and benevolence which they exhibited. He journeyed on foot throughout the towns and villages of Judea and Galilee, healing all who were afflicted. He enabled the lame to walk, the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak; persons born blind received from him their sight; the maimed had whole limbs or members restored to them; the paralytic, the leprous, the lunatic, the possessed with evil spirits, the afflicted of every description, found relief from him, however incurable by the art of man. These were his ordinary works; besides which, he sometimes raised the dead, controlled the fury of the elements, fed thousands by creating food on the instant, and performed numerous other marvellous works. His fame consequently soon spread abroad, not in Judea and Galilee only, but throughout the province of Syria, insomuch that multitudes from Idumea, Tyre, Sidon, and other places, resorted to him for cures, or to witness his miracles; all of whom he likewise instructed in the truths of God.

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[1] Jos. Ant. xviii. cap. 5.

The doctrine of Jesus was equally opposed to the rebellious and fanatical zeal of the Gaulonites,—the compromising spirit of the Herodians,—the profane indifference of the Sadducees, and the ostentation and worldliness of the Scribes and Pharisees; the consequence of which was, that he was continually provoked into controversy with one or other of these sects. The Pharisees and Scribes more especially were regarded by him as the great corrupters of the law and deceivers of the people; and he took frequent opportunity of unmasking their hypocrisy and exposing their pernicious errors. Exasperated by these circumstances, and more so by the decrease of their popularity, the Pharisees became the malignant and implacable enemies of Jesus; and as, in the days of Alexander Janneus, they scrupled not, for the sake of maintaining their power, to call to their aid those, toward whom they were otherwise opposed, so in the present instance, they secretly conspired with their rivals, the Herodians and Sadducees, to destroy Jesus. In the meanwhile they laboured to weaken his influence and reputation; they derided the supposed meanness of his birth and circumstances; they misrepresented his doctrine, as designed to overthrow the law of Moses; and they attributed his miracles, the reality of which they could not dispute, to the power of Satan. This latter circumstance strikingly marked the awful depth of ungodliness into which they had fallen. In former periods of national apostacy, manifestations of divine power had commonly served to impress and to recover the people; but spiritual pride and religious hypocrisy shewed themselves to be more obdurate and perverse than open idolatry itself; insomuch that those under its influence became infuriate against Jesus, in proportion as the wonders wrought by him were more calculated to arrest attention and produce conviction.

Besides that the leaders of the principal sects were thus combined against Jesus, other circumstances tended to increase the number of his opponents. The scribes and the priests, whether Pharisees or not, were equally incensed at having their abuses reproved by him; whilst the rich and worldly of all parties were prejudiced against that humility and self-denial, constantly witnessed in the life and character of Jesus. A few honourable exceptions are recorded of persons in superior circumstances and station, who became his avowed followers; among whom were the wife of Herod's steward; a chief collector of revenue, named Zaccheus; and two members of the Sanhedrim, Joseph and Nicodemus.[1] Many also of the rulers were secretly persuaded that Jesus was the Christ, but were deterred from confessing him through the fear of the Pharisees and priests, who still exercised a spiritual despotism over the majority, both of rich and poor, and visited with the appalling ban of excommunication all who ventured to express convictions on this point.

The ministry of Jesus continued only into the fourth year; though when his uncompromising boldness and fidelity are considered, and the manifold dangers to which he was exposed, we rather wonder that the period of it was so long. In the cities and towns he was constantly beset by the spies of the Pharisees, who insinuated themselves into all assemblies, and sometimes feigned to be his disciples, only that they might the more readily find occasion to accuse him.[2] When, in order to avoid their machinations, he quitted Judea and Galilee, he there was exposed to the banditti and fanatics, who daily became more numerous and audacious. The tetrarch, also, of Galilee, Herod Antipas, was watching for an occasion to cut him off: for so many adventurers had recently pretended to be the Messiah and king, that he feared lest Jesus might turn to account the multitudes who followed him in like manner,—an enterprise for which some of them had already shewn themselves disposed.[3] Still more jealous was Pilate, the procurator of Judea, of popular movements;

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[1] John ix. 22, 34, and xii. 42, 43.

[2] Luke xiv. 1; xx. 20.

[3] John vi. 15.

nor was he uninformed of the multitudes who every where followed Jesus. Moreover the Pharisees had not failed to represent and confound the followers of Jesus in Galilee, with those of Judas of Galilee, in regard to whom Pilate had shewn himself sufficiently on the alert; for being informed that a body of them had visited Jerusalem for worship, he surrounded them in the temple with his guards, and hewed them in pieces, while they were in the act of offering sacrifice.[1] The preservation of Jesus, under all these circumstances of danger, was not less an evidence of the righteousness of his career, than of the special providence of God. Pilate appears to have been convinced that he was a harmless and benevolent prophet, from whom nothing was to be feared; and to have been accurately informed of the envy which prompted the representations of the priests: his wife also appears to have secretly favoured Jesus.[2] Whilst that same popularity, which excited the fears of Herod and the malignity of the Pharisees, deterred them from violence against him, lest it should be avenged by the people; and they waited in vain for any indiscretion of Jesus, on which they might ground, before Pilate, an accusation against him.

The circumstances which ultimately led to his apprehension and condemnation equally manifested his unblameable and holy character, with those which had hitherto contributed to his safety. One of the great and benign objects of Jesus was to make atonement for the sins of his people, by the sacrifice of himself; and being aware that the hour was now arrived when that sacrifice was to be offered, he prepared to attend the great festival of the passover, which was at hand. Having therefore made a last circuit through the towns and villages of Galilee; he once more visited the cities of Judea and ascended to Jerusalem. Hitherto he had restrained all public demonstrations of the people in his behalf, forbidding them even to declare that he was the Christ: on this occasion however, having arrived in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and a vast concourse issuing forth to meet him with branches of palm, he suffered himself to be placed on an ass, and conducted into the city, amidst the acclamations and hosannas of the people, who spread their garments in the way and exhibited the liveliest testimonies of joy; whilst the multitude of his disciples who followed, moved by the scene before them, burst into a transport of praise, and glorified God for the marvellous works which they had been permitted to behold. Those who had remained in the city were also greatly affected at this proceeding; and for the moment it appeared as if the entire nation was about to receive and acknowledge him as Messiah.

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[1] Luke xiii. 1.

[2] Matt. xxvii. 18, 19

Jesus had only in one instance assumed the exercise of authority. This was upon the first commencement of his ministry, when, upon entering Jerusalem to attend the passover, he drove from the courts of the temple those who profaned them by the sale of sheep, oxen, and doves, and overthrew the tables of the money-changers. The practice had apparently grown up under the connivance or sanction of the priests themselves, in order that worshippers might be provided on the spot with unblemished animals for sacrifice; no less than seventy-three different kinds of blemishes being enumerated by the rabbins.[1] By the sale of these the priests realized a considerable gain; and as their covetousness was too tenacious of its prey readily to relinquish it, the practice was speedily resumed, and the courts of the temple had now become again a sort of mixed market and exchange. Jesus however went up straight to the temple, accompanied by the same multitude which escorted him into the city, and once more ejected the money-changers, the salesmen and their stock, from the courts of the Lord's house. These proceedings, together with the popular demonstration at this time in behalf of Jesus, goaded the priests and pharisees to madness, and they now resolved to seize the earliest opportunity of apprehending him apart from the multitude.

The desired opportunity, owing to the prudence of Jesus, in privately withdrawing from the city for the night, might have been long waited for, had not his place of retreat been betrayed by a disciple, who at this crisis repaired to the priests, and for the sake of a bribe of small amount, conducted the officers of the temple and their guard to the spot. Some of his select disciples, who were with him, made a show of resistance, and wounded a servant of the high priest; but Jesus forbade them to resist; and having healed the sufferer and secured the retreat of his disciples, who forsook him and fled, he quietly surrendered himself to his enemies.

The circumstances of the trial which followed, though familiar to every reader of the Evangelists, were nevertheless so immediate a cause of the terrible judgments, which soon after came upon the entire nation, and which were in many respects so manifestly retributive, that some notice of them, in a history of Israel, appears indispensable.

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[1] See a Treatise on the Passover, by the Rev. J. S. C. F. Frey, a converted Jew.

The party which apprehended Jesus led him first to the house of Annas, or Ananias, a person of considerable influence, who had himself been pontiff, and also obtained the office for five of his sons and for his son in law. For men were now advanced to the pontificate and deposed again, whenever the cupidity of the procurator could be tempted by a bribe; so that instead of continuing to hold the office for life, no less than twenty-seven high priests were superseded, through corruption or tyranny, in the short period from the death of Herod to the destruction of Jerusalem. Ananias however had no inclination to take upon himself the odium of condemning Jesus, and therefore sent him to Caiaphas, his son-in-law, who was actually the high priest at that time. By him every principle of justice, and every consideration of decency and decorum were violated. By the rabbinical law criminal proceedings could only be commenced and conducted during the day;[1] but Caiaphas, though it was night, immediately convened the Sanhedrim, and entered at once upon the examination. The law of Moses also required, that the person accused should be confronted with his accusers, and every word established by the testimony of two or three witnesses;[2] but Caiaphas, without adducing any evidence, endeavoured to extort something from Jesus himself, whereon he might ground an accusation; and when Jesus remonstrated, he was smitten by one of the officers of the court. After this proof of their injustice, as he chose to be silent to all further interrogatories, the council, which had now assembled, suborned false witnesses; but the testimony of their own hirelings proved so contradictory, that they dared not convict upon it. It is worthy of remark, in this place, that the disciple who betrayed Jesus was not brought forward against him; although he must have been well acquainted with his conduct, both in public and private, and would naturally have been glad of the opportunity of palliating his own treachery, by alleging the imposture or immoralities of his master. But it is manifest that no evidence could be obtained, from this quarter, of any design or effort on the part of Jesus to excite the multitude to rebellion; no proof of unguarded conduct in his more private hours; no testimony that his miracles were tricks, effected by collusion with his disciples.

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[1] Sanhed. c. iv. s. 1.

[2] Deuteronomy xix. 15.

It was now the duty of the high priest to punish those who were convicted of swearing falsely against Jesus;[1] but instead of thus protecting and avenging the accused, Caiaphas reverted again to his former system of interrogating, adjuring him by the living God to say, if he were the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus could no longer keep silence, when invoked by the name of God, and avowed himself to be such; on which they immediately condemned him of blasphemy, and sentenced him to death. A scene of scandalous tumult followed. The whole council began to deride and insult him, spitting in his face, buffeting him, and betraying their envy and malignity in various ways.

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[1] Deuteronomy xix. 16—21.

Having however condemned Jesus, they feared his popularity too much to be his executioners themselves; especially as it was the time of the passover. As soon therefore as it was day, they hurried him off to Pilate, the procurator, requiring of him to put him to death forthwith. But however accustomed Pilate was to have the course of justice prescribed for him by bribery, the unceremoniousness of this demand led him first to inquire what crime Jesus had committed; which question drew forth a characteristic reply from the insolent Pharisees: "If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him unto thee." Piqued at this arrogance, Pilate bade them take and dispose of Jesus themselves; but they excused themselves by declaring, that they had no longer the power to put any to death: a remarkable reply, inasmuch as they thereby again admitted that the sceptre had departed from Judah, and conquently that, according to their scriptures, Messiah must now have made his appearance.[1] Perceiving however that Pilate was not disposed to proceed without a formal accusation being made, they now alleged against Jesus, not that he had made himself the Son of God, for which they had themselves condemned him, but that he forbade to give tribute to Cæsar, set himself up for a king, and went about *Galilee*, inciting the people to rebellion. The procurator was persuaded of the innocence of Jesus of these charges; but being entangled by the fear of disobliging the Jews, inasmuch as his affairs did not at that time stand well at Rome with Tiberius, he gladly availed himself of the mention of

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[1] Genesis xlix. 10.

Galilee to relieve himself of the present difficulty, by sending the accused for judgment to Herod Antipas, who had come up to Jerusalem on occasion of the passover.

Herod was pleased at the opportunity of seeing Jesus, hoping to witness some miracle performed by him; but Jesus again thought proper to maintain a strict silence, both to the interrogatories of the Tetrarch, and the vehement accusations of the Jews, who had followed thither. However mortified Herod might have been at the reserve of Jesus, he could find no pretext for condemning him: nevertheless, he also, like the Jewish rulers, indulged his malignity, by insulting and deriding his prisoner; in which outrage he was joined by his courtiers; and having arrayed Jesus in a purple robe, in mockery of his supposed pretensions, he sent him back thus habited to Pilate.

The innocence of Jesus,' and the iniquity of his accusers, became more apparent at every stage of the extraordinary proceedings against him. Pilate had previously declared that he found him without fault, and Herod had virtually acquitted him; but his enemies, only exasperated the more, still urged Pilate to condemn him. Thus embarrassed with the affair again, the governor now thought of appealing to the multitude, whom he knew to be in general favourably inclined to Jesus. A custom had grown up with the Roman procurators of releasing to the people, at the festival of the passover, one of two prisoners, proposed for their choice. Taking for granted therefore, that the measure would be agreeable, Pilate resolved at once to liberate Jesus; but the priests about him were instantly clamorous to have a choice, according to the usual custom. Upon this Pilate, to render the contrast of character the more striking, selected from his prisoners a leader of banditti, named Barabbas, who also had excited an insurrection and committed murder therein, and set up this ruffian to the choice of the multitude, together with Jesus. But besides that many of the people secretly favoured the banditti, when they assumed a political character, they were awed by the presence in such numbers of the priests and pharisees, who still had sufficient hold upon their consciences or their fears, to influence the majority to demand Barabbas; and, on Pilate submitting to them his perplexity, how in that case to dispose of Jesus, they further raised an overwhelming clamour, that he should be crucified.

Foiled in these attempts, and not having moral courage sufficient to acquit Jesus, Pilate next, in the hope of still delivering him from capital punishment, by gratifying to a certain extent the faction of the priests and rulers, released Barabbas and scourged Jesus; and then bringing him forth bleeding to the multitude, in the persuasion that he would now excite their compassion, he declared again that he found no fault in him. But Pilate does not appear to have been acquainted with human nature: the declaration of the *innocence* of Jesus served only to exasperate his enemies the more; and they again tumultuously vociferated to have him crucified.

Angered apparently at their opposition, Pilate now grew more determined, and plainly declared that they must then crucify him themselves, as he would have nothing to do with it. On which the Pharisees, perceiving that it would only expose them to so much the greater odium, to put Jesus to death, in the face of Pilate's declaration of his innocence, now brought forward the charge which they had hitherto kept out of sight; viz. his having made himself the Son of God. This accusation however produced the reverse effect on Pilate from what was intended : it awakened in him a religious awe of the character of his prisoner; which, combined with a communication from his wife at this juncture, warning him that she had suffered much in a dream concerning Jesus, determined him to release him.

The moment was critical, and the acquittal of Jesus humanly speaking certain ; when the Jews, increasing in turbulence and fury at the prospect of the escape of their victim, now boldly insinuated that Pilate must be a traitor to Cæsar, if he spared a man who had asserted himself to be a king; alarmed at which, the resolution of the governor was suddenly reversed, and he determined, at any sacrifice of justice or inclination, to oblige the influential Jews, that he might have them for his friends at the tribunal of Tiberius. He therefore delivered Jesus to be executed, together with two brigands,[1] who were all crucified on the day before the Passover, in contravention again of the existing Jewish law, which forbade the infliction of punishment on the eve of a sabbath.[2] Thus was consummated, by Jew and Gentile united,—the one instigating, the other consenting to commit the deed,—the most atrocious and appalling act of wickedness; the climax of all that the darkness, depravity and rebellion of the human heart had ever yet perpetrated, or that is possible to be perpetrated by man !

[1] Ληϲται, Matt. xxvii. 38.

[2] Sanhed. c. iv. s. 1.

The behaviour of Jesus in the hour of death corresponded with his life. Whilst hanging upon the cross, he was careful only of those about him; he dispensed a blessing to one of his fellow-sufferers; he bore with wonderful patience and meekness the jeers and revilings of his exulting enemies; and the last prayer he uttered was for their forgiveness.

The Jews congregated together on this occasion witnessed what they had not anticipated, when they came up to the festival; and what they were, as yet, still unconscious of,—the *true paschal lamb* put to death on the very day appointed for the lambs offered on the passover to be killed ; and on that very mount Moriah whereon, nearly two thousand years before, Abraham had offered up Isaac, the type of Christ, and received the promise, that in that mount the Lord should be seen. (See page 15.)

Fearful signs and prodigies gave immediate indication of the anger of heaven, and closed the direful tragedy. The noon-day sun was eclipsed, and a supernatural darkness—fit emblem of the darkness of the deed—enveloped the land for three hours;[1] a mighty earthquake also shook it to its centre, splitting the rocks and bursting open the sepulchres;[2] and the vail which divided the sanctuary of the temple from the holy of holies was rent asunder from the top to the bottom. The Roman centurion, on duty on this occasion, was awed into the conviction that Jesus really was—what the Jews had accused him of only pretending to be—*the Son of God;* and those who had silently commiserated Jesus now smote their breasts, and returned dejected and dismayed into the city.

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[1] The annals of history have been ransacked to discover a record of a *natural* eclipse having taken place at this period; but it is impossible that a natural eclipse should have occurred when the moon was at the full, which was always the case at the time of the Passover.

[2] Pliny says that the greatest earthquake in the memory of man happened in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, when twelve cities of Asia were levelled in a single night. (C. Plinii, Sec. lib. ii. c. 84.) And Maundrell, in his Travels from Aleppo to Jerusalem, observes that the wide chasms or clefts in the rocks about Jerusalem afford clear testimony of some violent convulsion of nature having taken place.

The triumph of the enemies of Jesus was but of short duration. His body was given up for sepulture to Joseph and Nicodemus, the two members of the Sanhedrim mentioned before, and who alone dissented openly from the acts of the council. But as Jesus had predicted, that if put to death he should rise again on the third day, Pilate allowed the priests, at their request, a guard, for the purpose of watching the sepulchre in which Joseph deposited the corpse, and thus of preventing any fraud being practised by his disciples. The great day however of the passover was scarcely passed, when it was announced to his afflicted followers, that Jesus was RISEN FROM THE DEAD! It is remarkable, that though the fears of his enemies were alive to his predictions of this event, and they had taken their precautions accordingly, his disciples on the contrary seem not to have recollected it, and were hard to be persuaded of it; but all doubt was speedily removed, and their sorrow turned into joy, by the appearance of Jesus himself among them.

In the meanwhile the enemies of Jesus were filled with consternation. The soldiers, whom they had placed to guard the sepulchre, had returned terrified to their employers, and reported that an angel had descended from heaven too terrible for them to look upon, and that while they were prostrate and almost dissolved with fear, and amidst lightning and another shock of earthquake, the tomb was burst open, and the body was gone. The Sanhedrim was immediately convened, and the guards were strictly examined; but their testimony found consistent. Yet even with this further extraordinary evidence before them of Jesus being the Messiah, his enemies were too hardened to yield to it; and they bribed the soldiers with a considerable largess to affirm, that the disciples had come in the night, whilst they were asleep, and had stolen the body. The story could not well have been exceeded in absurdity; since, had they really been asleep, it is manifest they could not have known whether the corpse had been stolen or otherwise removed; and, moreover, to sleep at their post, was an offence not likely to have been admitted by soldiers, had it been the fact, inasmuch as it was punishable with death. But nothing is too preposterous for the depraved mind of man to take refuge in, when he desires to avoid being convinced by truth.

Matters nevertheless remained tolerably quiet until the feast of Pentecost, which occurred seven weeks afterwards; for the manifestations of Jesus after his resurrection were confined to his disciples, amounting in number to about one hundred and twenty in Jerusalem, and about five hundred in Galilee;[1] in the midst of whom he ascended into heaven about forty days after his resurrection. But on the day of Pentecost other wonders threw all Jerusalem again into a state of excitement. Jesus had not only foretold that he would arise from the dead and return to his heavenly Father; but that he would send down from heaven the Holy Ghost upon his disciples, endowing them with miraculous powers, and enabling them also in turn to work signs and wonders. These facts indeed, the resurrection and outpouring of the Spirit, were to be at once the proof that his death was no common or accidental event, but brought about by Jehovah, and accepted as an atonement for the sins, not merely of the Jews, but of the entire human race; and that Jesus was actually ascended to the right hand of power, from whence he instructed his disciples to expect that he should hereafter return. Accordingly, on the arrival of the festival of Pentecost, the disciples were suddenly filled with the Holy Ghost whilst engaged in prayer; which descended also and rested upon the heads of each of them in a visible manner, like flame, or cloven tongues of fire. Upon this they went forth and astonished the multitude by the deeds they were enabled to perform: they cast out devils, they healed the sick, they raised the dead; and—which was more especially the sign of having received the Holy Ghost,—they spoke in languages which they had never learned, and prophesied. The Jews congregated at Jerusalem from all the various countries of the world in which they sojourned, heard the doctrine of Jesus now declared in their respective languages by illiterate Galileans; and the Jews, for one mighty prophet whom they had crucified, saw hundreds now risen up in his place and boldly proclaiming the truths of God.

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[1] Acts i. 15; 1 Cor. xv. 6.

Hitherto the proceedings of Jesus had been attended with no results that could be called national. In the times of Hezekiah and Josiah an extensive reformation had been effected, by means of the despotic power exercised by those princes; but during the ministry of Jesus the authorities were arrayed against him; and though his miracles had excited general attention, and multitudes had been baptized, his doctrine was not decidedly embraced, nor his cause espoused, excepting by the comparatively small number of disciples already named. Now however the affairs of religion assumed a different aspect, and a considerable body of devout and spiritual worshippers of Jesus, as Messiah and God, were gathered to the Lord. Soon after entering upon his ministry, Jesus had selected twelve disciples, whom he called apostles or missionaries; and these were now endowed with superior authority and more abundant gifts, having the exclusive power also, by the imposition of hands, of communicating miraculous gifts to others. By their preaching, three thousand converts were added to the disciples on the day of Pentecost; a few days afterwards the number of male disciples alone amounted to about five thousand; after which they rapidly grew into a great multitude, including a large company of the priesthood.[1] These all came into subjection to the apostles and the elders appointed by them, who formed a council at Jerusalem; but though they thus erected a separate constitution and government for their own affairs, they were obedient to the civil and political regulations of the Roman and Jewish authorities, when the decrees or directions of those authorities did not plainly contravene the commands of their Messiah.

There were some important circumstances in which the Mosaic ritual and laws were now affected by the doctrine of the apostles. The law in general, given through Moses, occupied a different position; and instead of being regarded as a rigorous covenant, was considered only as a rule of life. The Aaronic priesthood was viewed as done away, and a new priesthood established, centred in Jesus alone, after the order or pattern of that exhibited by Melchizedek, who was both priest and king of Salem in Abraham's time. The object for which sacrifices and offerings were instituted was now held as accomplished by the one offering of Jesus on the cross. The rite of circumcision was considered as virtually abrogated; and the first day of the week was observed as the Sabbath, instead of, or rather in addition to, the seventh day. For in deference to the prejudices of the Jews, and to the existing state of things, the believers did not offer any violence to the Mosaical ordinances, but continued for some time to observe them likewise, though without considering them to be binding on the conscience.

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[1] Acts ii. 41; iv. 4; v. 14; vi. 7.

In regard also to the promises made to Abraham and the fathers, and which constituted that new covenant of grace now brought into operation;[1] the disciples had with much earnestness sought instruction of Jesus, previous to his ascension, concerning the period when those promises should be fully accomplished, and the kingdom and dominion given to Israel, in that plenary sense, which had ever been expected should take place in the days of the Messiah. But they were explicitly informed, that this was not to be until the return again of Jesus from the heavens.[2] They had also been expressly warned by Jesus previous to his death, that the city and temple should be again destroyed, and the people carried captive into all nations, and that they should remain dispersed and trodden down among the Gentiles for an indefinite period.[1] In the mean time they were now taught by the Spirit to wait patiently until his second advent, for the manifestation and glory of the kingdom of Christ, and that general resurrection of the righteous dead, by means of which the fathers should yet enjoy the promises made to them. For their encouragement and assurance, a specimen had been given of the power and majesty of the kingdom to certain of the disciples, before whom Jesus was transfigured and appeared in glory, together with Moses and Elijah;[2] and besides the earnest of a resurrection, afforded by the rising again of Jesus from the dead, many of the saints had likewise at this period been raised up, and had appeared to certain in Jerusalem.[3]

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[1] Gal. iii. 16—18.

[2] Acts i. 6; iii. 19—21.

One or two other peculiarities of the gospel now preached demand a brief notice, as distinguishing it from the law which previously existed. The transgressions under the law, and the natural rebellion and enmity of the heart to it, were now pressed to convince the hearer of his sinfulness by nature and by practice. Instead of the convinced and penitent sinner being then referred, as before, to the blood of bulls and of goats, he was pointed to the blood of Jesus as the only acceptable atonement. He was also shown the need of a spiritual regeneration of the heart, whereby it should be sanctified to the love of God; and he was further taught to expect, by believing in Jesus Christ, an effectual power to work inwardly in his soul, and conform him to the nature and image of that God who was to dwell with the saints in the day of the manifestation of his kingdom. In regard to the experience of this spiritual *power* among the disciples, the doctrine of the apostles was as superior to that of Moses, as the law propounded by him excelled the religion of all other nations. By the Sinai dispensation the commandment was only presented to the eye or the ear, without communicating to the soul any disposition to love it, or any power to obey it; as the manifold rebellions of the nation had abundantly made evident. But by the new covenant that law was grafted by the Spirit in the heart; the believer in Jesus was led inwardly to delight in it; by the same Spirit he received strength to walk in habitual obedience to it, and to mortify all affections that were contrary to it. Nor was this doctrine put forth in words only. The power exhibited by the believers in Jesus, in casting out devils, healing the sick, raising the dead, and speaking with tongues, was not more clearly manifest than the power by which they were transformed from their previous corrupt conversation and depraved habits, and enabled to walk in newness of life, bringing forth those heavenly graces of the Spirit which had been witnessed in Jesus himself, and offering to Jehovah a continual sacrifice of praise. Both classes of marvels were tokens and foretastes of the kingdom of Christ and the powers of the world to come; but the last was the most important, inasmuch as it formed the permanently distinguishing characteristic of Christ's religion, as compared with all other systems of ethics, or with any corrupt modifications of his own; and it is utterly impossible for the reader to form any just notion of the real character of the reformation effecting at this period among the Jews, or of the spirit which now animated the followers of Jesus, unless these things are properly understood.

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[1] Matt. xxiii. 38; xxiv. 1, 2. Luke xxi. 23, 24.

[2] Compare 2 Peter i. 16—18, with Matthew xvi. 27, 28; xvii. 1—8; Mark ix. 1—8; Luke ix. 27—36.

[3] Acts xxvi. 6—8.

The disciples, however, were not suffered to pursue their course unmolested. Not only was the faction which opposed Jesus alarmed and angered, to see the cause which they imagined they had crushed rise up and spread with increased power; but the Pharisees in particular were exasperated at the liberty proclaimed to the converts from their self-righteous and burdensome impositions; and the Sadducees were mortified and confounded at the powerful testimony given to the doctrine of a resurrection, which they had altogether mocked at. And though the profane party among the Jews had persecuted the fanatics, and the fanatical had equally persecuted the profane, both sects now united in an impious attempt to suppress those who were the only true patriots, and labouring to bring back the nation to the proper knowledge of God. At first they threatened them only; they next imprisoned and scourged them; and finding this insufficient to quench the zeal and intrepidity of the believers, they at length proceeded to put them to death.[1] A disciple named Stephen was the first that was called to the honour of martyrdom, which he endured in the same spirit of meekness as his master, and died praying for his persecutors. Numerous others were then punished, some being openly brought before the council of the nation and condemned; others being subjected to a species of secret inquisition in the synagogues of the different towns, where

[1] Acts iv. 17, 21; v. 18, 40; vii. 59; viii. 1; ix. 1.

the priests and rabbins arbitrarily, but more privately, inflicted punishment, unless the new doctrine were renounced.[1] The gall of religious jealousy not only blinded the judgment, but quenched all natural affection. It was accounted a meritorious work to exhibit a furious rage and virulence against the Nazarenes, or Christians, as the disciples were afterwards called; and the foremost to accuse or injure them were often their nearest relatives.

The persecution was nevertheless overruled of God, both to purify the disciples from remaining attachment to this world, and to the increase also of their numbers. For as they fled into foreign countries for safety, they evangelized the Jews of Phœnicia, Cyprus, Antioch, and other places, many of whom embraced the faith of Jesus; and the inhabitants of Samaria also in great numbers received the doctrine of Christ, and were baptized.

Another circumstance tended to increase the followers of Jesus. Among the most bigoted and infuriated of their enemies was a Benjamite of Tarsus, in Cilicia, named Saul, a rigorous Pharisee, and the most distinguished disciple of the most distinguished of the rabbins, named Gamaliel. This man was arrested in his career of vehement persecution by a heavenly vision, in which the risen Jesus himself appeared to him; and the result was his conversion to the faith, and the turning of his great talents and powers towards the extension of that sect which he had previously sought to destroy. His knowledge of the traditions of the Jews enabled him to silence all opposers; whilst the circumstance that the most notorious and active persecutor of the Nazarenes was now transformed into a friend, amazed and confounded for awhile the Jews in general. But when by divine direction Saul, better known by the name of Paul, proceeded to evangelize the Gentiles, and to invite them to become partakers of the blessings and promises made to Abraham, upon equal terms with the Jews, and without the necessity of submitting to the rite of circumcision, their anger burst forth again with fury against the disciples, and against Paul in particular. Even the christianized Jews found it difficult to divest themselves of prejudice against the incorporation of Gentile converts with themselves at the present time. They appear to have been under the impression, that Jesus would *speedily* reappear, and assert the dominion of Israel over all the nations of the world; and that it was not until this manifestation in glory of the kingdom of Messiah should have taken place, that the Gentiles would be generally converted. But at a council afterwards convened at Jerusalem, for the purpose of discussing this important question, and whether also the Gentile converts should be subjected to circumcision, they were instructed, through the Spirit, that the purpose of God was for the present to take out of the Gentiles also an election, who (it appears from the writings of Paul) were to be incorporated and made one with the election from among the Jews, and hereafter to partake with them of all the promises made to Abraham; and that *afterwards*, when the Lord Jesus should return, the dynasty of David should be restored, all Israel converted, and then also the entire residue of the Gentiles.[1]

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[1] Mark xiii. 9; and see Dr. Wolff's Journal for 1822, who quotes Maimonides, Sanhed. p. 36, and Hilhoth. Mamrim, c. iii.

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[1] Compare Acts xv. 12—18. Matt. viii. 12. Ephes. ii. 11—22; iii. 5, 6. Gal. iii. 29. Rom. ix. 6—8; xi. 12—15, 25, 26.

In regard to the political events of this period, Pilate, notwithstanding his unprincipled concessions to the Jews, failed in his endeavours to maintain his government. In the following year he was deposed from his office by Vitellius, the Roman prefect of Syria, and sent to Rome to answer the complaints of the Samaritans. The Jews, instead of befriending him on his trial, leaned against him; and he was banished to Vienne, A.D. 37, where his own hand terminated his miserable existence. Caiaphas, the high priest who condemned Jesus, was deposed by Vitellius at the same time.[1]

HEROD AGRIPPA.—[A.D. 38—45.] Marcellus was appointed successor to Pilate, and in the following year the regal authority was restored in the person of Herod Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, one of the unfortunate sons of Herod the Great by Mariamne. This prince had experienced great vicissitudes of life. In his early youth he was sent to Rome, where he became the friend of Drusus, the son of the emperor Tiberius; which circumstance, instead of proving to his temporal advantage, was the occasion of serious misfortunes; for on the premature death of Drusus, Tiberius was so affected, that he could not endure to see or to be memorialized by any of his son's friends, that he might not thereby have his grief for him revived: whereby he most inconsistently left many of those whom his son had loved in great difficulties. Among the number was Agrippa, who was likewise thoughtless and prodigal, soon squandering away what was lent to him; by which means he was at length reduced to such straits, that he was on the point of committing suicide, but was restrained by his wife Cypros. He afterwards attached himself to Caius Caligula, whom Tiberius had nominated his successor; but having heedlessly expressed his wish that Tiberius were dead, it was reported to the emperor, who ordered him to be imprisoned and bound with a heavy chain. On Caligula, however, becoming emperor, A.D. 38, he immediately released Agrippa, gave him a diadem, appointed him king of Judea, added to his dominions the territory of Philip the tetrarch, who had died in the preceding year, and presented him with a chain of gold, of equal weight with the iron one with which he had been bound. This chain Agrippa hung up in the treasury of the temple, to remind him of the instability of human affairs.

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[1] Joseph. Ant. lib. xviii. c. 4. Euseb. Hist. Ec. lib. ii. c. 7. Lardner, vol. 1, p. 337.

On the arrival of Herod in the following year to take possession of his kingdom, the Jews, who knew little of him, were taken by surprise; but the pleasing and conciliatory deportment of their new king, and the fact that he was descended from the Asmodeans by the mother's side, soon rendered him popular. Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee, remembering the former distresses of Agrippa, affected to laugh at his present elevation, but secretly envied it, and repaired to Rome for the twofold purpose of soliciting the regal title for himself and of injuring his rival. But Agrippa, being warned of him, also went to Rome, and accused Antipas of a treasonable correspondence with the Parthians, and with having secretly collected arms for seventy thousand men; the latter of which charges being proved, Antipas was banished to Lyons, and his tetrarchy and property given to Agrippa. Thus, having experienced a signal disaster after his murder of John the Baptist, he was likewise overtaken by condign punishment after his derision and mockery of Jesus.

But Caligula proved a troublesome and dangerous friend to the subjects of Agrippa. A bad feeling had grown up between the Jews of Alexandria and the Greeks, which had been aggravated by the unprincipled conduct of the Roman prefect, Flaccus. About A.D. 42, a deputation of the Alexandrian Jews, headed by Philo the historian, went to Rome to complain of the Greeks; who thereupon accused the Jews in turn of refusing divine honours to the emperor. Caligula, who was half a madman, and ambitious of being esteemed a god, was mortified at their conduct, and sent peremptory orders to Petronius, the prefect of Syria, to set up his statue in the sanctuary of the temple at Jerusalem. As soon as it was known that such an order had arrived, a great ferment was excited among the Jews throughout the country. All business and labour was suspended; and the people went about clothed in sackcloth, with ashes on their heads. Thousands declared themselves determined to die, if the decree were enforced, and besieging the tribunal of Petronius, bared their necks and presented their throats for the sword. By the intercession of Agrippa, who went to Rome on the occasion, the imperial mandate was recalled; but on a fresh provocation given to Caligula, it was soon after reissued with greater imperiousness than before; insomuch that Petronius, presuming to delay for awhile, got himself into a situation of great peril. He was relieved however from the danger, and the Jews from their apprehensions, by the death of Caligula, who was assassinated in the same year.

Agrippa happening to be at Rome on the above-named occasion, took a prominent part in persuading Claudius to accept the purple, and was by Claudius in return elevated to the rank of a consul of Rome, —an unusual dignity to be borne by a Jewish prince. He likewise presented him with the province of Samaria, and all the remaining territories that had belonged to his grandfather, Herod. But though possessed of the dominions, he was far from enjoying the power and authority exercised by his great ancestor; for not only the emperors of Rome, but the prefects of Syria, and even the procurators of Judea, now often interfered in an imperious manner. Of this Herod had mortifying proofs from Marsus, who was appointed prefect by Claudius, and who sternly forbade him to raise the walls of Jerusalem, which he was about to effect. Marsus likewise peremptorily ordered to their homes several princes, who were being entertained by Agrippa at Tiberias.

Agrippa, though popular with the Jews, was nevertheless destitute of religious principle. To gratify the Herodian party he encouraged theatrical exhibitions, and combats of gladiators; but discovering that he thereby offended the Pharisees and zealots, he next, in order to gratify them, aided the persecution against the followers of Jesus. He apprehended and put to death James, one of the twelve apostles; and perceiving that this gave satisfaction to the Jews, he next seized Peter, another of the apostles, and would likewise have executed him, had not God, in answer to the prayers of the Christian Jews, miraculously delivered him from prison. But Agrippa was immediately requited. For having received a deputation from Tyre and Sidon in public, and made an harangue on the occasion, charmed with his eloquence, the people shouted, and declared that it was the voice of a god. Agrippa accepted the flattery, but was in the same hour smitten with a disease in the entrails, which compelled him to withdraw from the assembly, and he died a few days afterwards in great agony, eaten up of worms.[1]

In the same year Palestine was visited by a grievous famine, which was not only a chastisement on the nation for its sins, but one of the tokens of the approaching desolation of Jerusalem, which had been predicted by Jesus. (Matt. xxiv. 7. Acts xi. 28.)

AGRIPPA II. [A.D. 45—53.]—Claudius, the Roman emperor, though friendly disposed toward the family of Agrippa, considered his son, who bore the same name, too young to hold the reins of government; being at the time of his father's decease only seventeen years of age. He therefore placed Judea for a while under the more immediate controul of Cassius Longinus, the prefect of Syria, and Cuspius Fadus the governor of Jerusalem. But two years afterwards, he set the young Agrippa on the throne with a limited territory; and six years after that gave him the entire dominions of his father. Agrippa was scarcely in the throne than that series of misunderstandings with the Romans commenced, which contributed to bring on the war with them. The Jews, on their part, stirred up by the fanatics, became increasingly insolent and contemptuous towards the Gentiles; and whilst the state of morals among themselves was such as to cause the Mosaical religion to be everywhere misapprehended, and the name of Jehovah to be blasphemed,[1] they manifested their dislike of idolatry by the most scornful expressions and gestures. Their hatred likewise of the Christian Jews rendered them turbulent; insomuch that they often beset the Gentile tribunals with clamorous importunity against them; and when they failed in procuring their condemnation, they inflicted summary vengeance themselves,—sometimes under the very eye of the Roman authorities.[2] Another cause of their increasing insolence and turbulence was the excitement in which they were continually kept, by their fond expectation of another Messiah than Jesus; at whose appearance they still hoped to go forth and trample down the Gentiles. In this expectation they were encouraged by the false prophets among them, and by the zealots, who taught them to view all other people as enemies. Claudius, though he was forbearing to the Jews on Agrippa's account, had nevertheless, in the same year that he gave him the dominions of his father, been obliged to expel them from Rome for these causes; previous to which, on restoring the Jews of Alexandria to privileges of which they had been for awhile deprived, he found it needful to admonish them in his edict to behave themselves decorously to persons of opposite religion.[3]

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[1] Josephus relates, that when Agrippa was in prison at Rome, a German soothsayer, observing an owl, declared that he would soon be set at liberty, and raised to the highest honours; but that he would die within five days after seeing this bird again. The elevation followed as predicted; and Josephus adds, that on the day, on which Agrippa received the Syrian deputies, he beheld the owl sitting on a cord over his head. (Ant. lib. xix. c. 7, 8.)

On the other hand, the Gentiles were not backward in evincing their contempt for the Jews.[4] The learned derided them in epigrams and satires; the illiterate, and especially the soldiery, betrayed their aversion in a more brutal manner, their officers being sometimes disinclined, and sometimes unable, to repress their licentiousness. One or two circumstances of this kind happened in the year of Agrippa's accession. Fadus, the Roman governor of Jerusalem, had been succeeded in the following year by Tiberius Alexander, nephew of the celebrated Philo, and an apostate from the Jewish faith, who was so odious to the Jews on that account, that he was in the next year withdrawn, and succeeded by Ventidius Cumanus. At the ensuing feast of the passover, one of the soldiers, stationed at the gates of the temple to prevent disorder, exposed himself naked, in contempt of the festival. A tumult following, Cumanus ordered out the troops, and their appearance creating an apprehension of a massacre, the people fled in all directions, pursued by the soldiery, and treading down one another. On this occasion, ten thousand Jews lost their lives. Shortly after, another soldier, who had obtained a copy of the Pentateuch, publicly destroyed it with blasphemous expressions. This occasioned another riot, in which the Jews suffered; though Cumanus, in this instance, ordered the offender to be beheaded. After this the Samaritans murdered a Jew of Galilee, and were accused before Cumanus; but he, having been bribed by the Samaritans, turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the Jews: upon which some of the more turbulent resolved to take vengeance into their own hands; and, placing themselves under the guidance of two captains of banditti, attacked the Samaritans. Cumanus soon overpowered them, killing many and taking the rest prisoners; but the Galileans were only more irritated thereby, and forming themselves into armed bands, they further increased the hordes of brigands with which their country was infested.

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[1] Rom. ii. 19—24. [2] Acts xviii. 12—17; xxi. 35. [3] Acts xviii. 2. Suet. in Claud. xxxv. [4] Tacit. Hist. lib. v. Philost. Vit. Apol. v. 2.

By these and other circumstances, a lawless and ruffian spirit was daily increasing. The Pharisees were daily becoming more imbued with the doctrines of the zealots; the avowed zealots had become identified with the principles and practices of the Gaulonites; whilst from among these there now arose a still fiercer sect, who held it lawful to kill all who were opposed to the religion or interests of Israel,—all, in fact, who became obnoxious to themselves. They were bound to each other by secret oaths, and carried a short dagger, called *sica*, beneath their garments, from whence they obtained the name of *Sicarii.* Persons were struck dead by them whilst walking in the streets, or even worshipping in the temple; and though the murderers were often known, yet the fear of becoming the next victims to their vengeance prevented the observers from bringing the actual perpetrators to justice. Thus were those principles, which appeared plausible in the bud, found, when circumstances had more fully developed them, to be productive of the deadliest fruits.

[A.D. 53—66.]—This gloomy state of affairs was greatly increased by the conduct of the procurators who now succeeded Cumanus. These were Felix, Festus, Albinus and Florus, men of rapacious, cruel, perfidious, and profligate character; whose proceedings were suited to remind the Jews of the curse denounced by their own Psalmist on the betrayers and murderers of the Messiah,—viz. that wicked rulers should be set over them, and Satan should stand at their right hand;[1] for these men proved both scourges in themselves, and snares and gins whereby the people were provoked to desperate proceedings.

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[1] Psalm cix. 5, &c. and compare Romans xi. 9, 10.

Felix, the first of these, was an enfranchised slave of Claudius, of whom Tacitus observes, that with the true genius of a slave he exercised the tyranny of an eastern despot.[1] During the seven years that he was governor, he availed himself of every imaginable pretext to plunder the Jews; and on being remonstrated with by Jonathan the high priest, who was his friend, and had been the principal cause of his elevation, he hired a band of Sicarii, who fell upon Jonathan in the court of the temple, during the solemnities of public worship, and murdered him. The deed struck the whole nation with horror; no instance had occurred of a pontiff being thus cut off; neither could an act be conceived, more inconsistent with the alleged principles of those who perpetrated it.

Festus was removed and died in the same year that he was appointed governor; but not until he had evinced the like profligate determination to enrich himself at any sacrifice of character. He found the priests engaged in a tithe war among themselves; the chief priests endeavouring to exact from the inferior priests so large a portion of the offerings and dues, as to leave them almost without a maintenance. From the strife of words they proceeded to blows; and the courts of the temple were often polluted with their blood; of which quarrels Festus took advantage to serve his own interests.

He was followed by Albinus, who exceeded both his predecessors in atrocity. During one of the festivals, some brigands seized and carried off the son of the high priest Ananias, at the same time sending the father word, that he should be liberated, if Ananias would first procure the release of ten of their associates recently apprehended by Albinus. The governor, for the sake of the proffered bribe, granted the request of Ananias; after which the robbers, emboldened by the success of their stratagem, seized the members of wealthy families, whensoever any of their own bands were imprisoned; whilst Albinus, finding this an easy method of acquiring wealth, instead of endeavouring to suppress the banditti, sought only to apprehend them.

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[1] Hist. v. 9.

Under Albinus two other circumstances contributed to increase the number of brigands. The rage for building had never declined since the days of Herod. New cities and villas had continued to spring up; and men gazed at and boasted of the edifices and embellishments on every side, unwilling to believe, though warned by the Christian Jews, that the day was hastening on which would not leave one stone upon another.[1] Albinus improvidently discharged eighteen thousand artificers and labourers from the public works in one day; who, being unable to obtain employment, for the most part became freebooters. The other circumstance which increased their number was, that, hearing of his recal, Albinus released all the prisoners in his possession, of whatsoever description, who could only find means to pay something for their liberty; whereby he again let loose upon society almost the entire of the vagabonds and criminals with which the jails were filled.

There were likewise continually arising impostors, who taking advantage of the feverish expectation of their Messiah, were permitted repeatedly to delude those who had rejected the true Christ; as he had warned them would be the case.[1] Some of these drew together a large number of armed followers, besides the greater multitude who secretly or more quietly favoured them; among whom may be instanced Theudas,[2] who in the time of Fadus promised to divide the waters of Jordan, as Joshua had done; but was slain instead, and his head exhibited on the walls of Jerusalem. Another, an Egyptian Jew,[3] arose in the time of Felix, and raised a band of thirty thousand armed followers, whom he led to the mount of Olives, assuring them that the walls of Jerusalem were to fall down flat, like another Jericho. But Felix scattered them to the winds. Festus destroyed another, who had drawn together a multitude in the desert; notwithstanding which repeated failures, the infatuation and delusion still continued; whilst the remainder of their adherents, when routed or dispersed, finding themselves unsettled for the sober pursuits of life, commonly served to swell the number of the brigands.

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[1] Acts vi. 14.

About A.D. 64 or 65, Gessius Florus was appointed procurator, the last and the worst governor of all. His conduct was so flagitious that Albinus now appeared in the comparison a righteous man. He directly abetted the banditti, on condition of dividing the plunder with them; and cared not what outrages they committed, so that he was but a participator in the spoil. Neither did he take any pains to conceal his proceedings; his object being, by a systematic course of injustice, oppression, and insult, to provoke the Jews into rebellion, thereby to obtain a pretext for more extensive pillage, and a blind to cover his enormities. Many of the Jews sought a refuge from his tyranny in other countries; whilst the more wealthy who remained adopted the dangerous expedient of hiring bands of ruffians for their own defence, whom they afterwards found employment for, in attacking those who were opposed to them on political or religious grounds. Among those, who thus became virtually captains of banditti, were Costobar and Saul, of the royal family, and Ananias, the late high priest; thus literally fulfilling the words of their prophet,—"Thy princes are rebellious and companions of thieves." (Isa. i. 25.)

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[1] John v. 43. Matt. xxiv. 5. [2] Acts v. 36. [3] Acts xxi. 38.

This Ananias was a profligate Sadducee, but possessed of immense wealth, by means of which he had procured the pontificate. He greatly promoted the persecution of the Christian Jews; and in the time of Albinus had procured the condemnation, by the Sanhedrim, of James, another eminent disciple of that name, who was cast down from the battlements of the temple, and not being killed by the fall was then stoned. But owing to the extensive benevolence and goodness of James, who was surnamed *the Just*, the act was not popular, and Ananias was deposed for it by Agrippa.

Under the government of Felix the eminent Paul had likewise been seized in the temple, and would have been killed, but for the intervention of the Roman officer then commanding, who nevertheless detained him, under the impression that he was one of the false Messiah.[1] Forty of the Sicarii then laid a plot to assassinate Paul while yet in custody; but the centurion, obtaining information of their design, sent his prisoner by night to Felix, who was at Cæsarea. Felix was persuaded of his innocence of the things alleged against him; yet, hoping to be bribed by Paul or his friends, he examined and remanded him several times,[1] and finally left him to Festus. This governor was inclined to be bribed by the Jews to condemn Paul; on which the latter stood on his privilege as a freeman of Rome, and appealed to the tribunal of Nero. Previous however to his being sent thither he was examined before Agrippa, who came to pay his compliments to Festus on his appointment; on which occasion Paul so powerfully set forth the facts which had led to his own conversion, that Agrippa declared himself almost persuaded to become a Christian. Festus being immediately after recalled, Albinus his successor sent Paul to Rome; where he brought his doctrine before the imperial court, and finally obtained his liberty. He

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[1] Up to this period it does not appear that the Christian Jews were persecuted by the Gentiles *as* Christians. Owing to the slanders of their Jewish brethren, the Gentiles appear to have regarded them

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only as the more seditious and fanatical class of Jews; and the expression which Tacitus applies to them, "*in odio humani generis convicti,*" is a manifest confusion of them with the Gaulonites and Zealots, who at this time actually professed to hate all mankind but the Jews. (Tac. Ann. xv. 44.) Gibbon's remarks on this subject are worthy of notice; who also shews, from a passage in Suetonius, (in Claud. c. 25.) that the Jews and Christians of Rome were confounded as one. (Vol. ii. p. 401.) See also Acts xviii. 14, 15; xxi. 38; xxiii. 29, &c. On the other hand the Jews were often thought better of by the piously disposed Gentiles; who considered the Christians as only a more spiritual sect of the Jews.

[1] It was on one of these occasions that Paul caused Felix to tremble, when he pressed on his conscience the need of righteousness and continence (εγκρατεια), and warned him of the judgment to come. For Felix was living in adultery with Drusilla, a Jewess, whom he had seduced from her husband. The impression however was evanescent, and the immoral connexion persisted in; until about four years afterwards Drusilla and her son were overwhelmed by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius. (Jos. Ant. xx. c. 7.)

was however soon after apprehended again, and put to death, in the absence of Nero, by Helius Cæsarianus, his prefect. Peter was executed about two years afterwards.

In the second year of the procuratorship of Florus, Cestius Gallus, who was then prefect of Syria, came up to Jerusalem during the passover. He no sooner appeared in public, than he was besieged by the Jews with vehement complaints against Florus; who stood by laughing, and affecting an air of indifference and contempt. Cestius amused them by expressing his hope, that they would have no further cause for dissatisfaction, and left them without redress. The discontent which this conduct of Cestius occasioned was greatly increased by his representations to the imperial court, in a cause then pending between the Jews and the Gentile inhabitants of Cæsarea. Both parties laid claim to the city; and frequent disputes and collisions had taken place between them. The Jews had the undeniable and conclusive arguments on their side, that Cæsarea was built by their king, in their territory, and with their money. The Syrians and Greeks had no argument beyond the fact, that there were temples and statues in the city, which the Jews' religion did not tolerate. The most intense interest was excited by this cause, and the Jews were confident that it must be decided in their favour; but owing to the statements of Cestius to Nero, and the persuasions of his tutor Burrhus, who was bribed by the Greeks, judgment was finally given against them.

[A.D. 66—71.]—The wrongs and injustice, which had been heaped by the rulers upon their Messiah, were now manifestly beginning to be repaid upon their own heads, and upon the nation in general. No grievance was redressed; no complaint was listened to: if their great men entreated favour, it exposed them to certain insult; if they ventured to remonstrate, they were answered by stripes, imprisonment and death. Florus had made various extortionate demands upon the people in the shape of tribute; and hearing, upon one of these occasions, that he had been ridiculed at Jerusalem, he went thither in great fury with his legions, rode over the people who came out to meet him, committed various enormities, and endeavoured to take the treasury by a surprise; in which enterprise he failed, only through the Jews blocking up the approaches to it by masses of living beings, who resolved to be sacrificed rather than that he should succeed. Encouraged by what they had witnessed of the disposition and conduct of the Romans, the Greeks and Syrians also, in those cities where there were Jewish colonies, rose up and attacked them; presuming that it would recommend them to that iron power which now ruled the world, or at least that it would be passed over with impunity. By these they were in several instances plundered and massacred; in some cases having been first decoyed into their grasp by the basest perfidy.

It was whilst they were groaning under this tyranny and persecution that the news arrived of their ill success in the dispute with Cæsarea; upon which the spirit of revolt, which had been smothering within, burst out into a flame. The war faction had been rapidly increasing for some time; but the aristocracy, the wealthy, the influential, the timid and the peaceful formed altogether a powerful and numerous party who deprecated war. They felt keenly the indignities and injuries which they had to endure from the Roman authorities; but they saw at the same time the hopelessness of resistance, and the certainty that an unsuccessful attempt would bring upon them only still greater calamities. Their rulers therefore went about beseeching the people to submit; and even Agrippa, to whom little more than the name of king now belonged, mingled his entreaties with those of the nobility. But the bond of union between the people and their rulers had been severed by oppression; and Agrippa had rendered himself unpopular, from having built a palace which overlooked the courts of the temple; and then, when the priests erected a wall to intercept the view, from having retired to Berytus, (the modern Beyrout) which he made his residence. Nevertheless, he was well received; and on his representing to the people, that to repair the damage they had already committed, and to collect the tribute they had refused, were the only means of saving their temple and city from destruction, they obeyed. But when he next proceeded to recommend that they should welcome Florus, who was expected from Cæsarea, with the usual courtesies, they broke out into a yell of execration, assailed Agrippa with stones, and drove him out of the city.

The war party were sensible that they were now committed, and that none but determined measures could avail them. Eleazar, a son of Ananias, and president of the Sanhedrim, put himself at the head of the insurgents; and, in order to compromise the nation still further, persuaded the priests to discontinue the usual sacrifices for the emperor, and to allow no heathens in future to offer their oblations. This resolution, so impious toward God and "contrary to all men," appears to have sealed their fate. Josephus attributes the calamities, which afterwards came upon them, to the anger of God for the murder of Jonathan the high priest, and the atrocities committed by the Sicarii;[1] but we have more certain authority for stating, that the real cause of their trouble was their rejection of Jesus, their true high priest. And though the fact mentioned by Josephus was doubtless a fruit of their being for this offence given up to blindness, yet from the same infallible source we learn, that the sins, which more immediately filled up the measure of their iniquity, and brought wrath upon them to the uttermost, were, first, their persecution of those followers of Jesus who were of their own nation; and secondly, their bitter and malignant opposition to the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles; in which same spirit of intolerance and contrariety the proposition of Eleazar was adopted.[2]

The advocates of peace, fearing the consequences of this measure, and finding themselves unable to control the furious enthusiasm of the insurgents, dispatched messengers to Florus and Agrippa, stating that the preservation of Jerusalem to the Romans depended on immediate succour. Agrippa accordingly sent them three thousand troops without delay; but the insurgents, led on by Eleazar, took possession of the temple, defeated the troops of Agrippa with much loss, shut up the remainder in the palace, and besieged the Romans in the castles of Herod and Antonia. At the end of two days Antonia was taken by assault, and the garrison put to the sword.

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[1] Ant. xx. 8, 9.

[2] Compare 1 Thess. ii. 15, 16, with Matt. xxiii. 32—39; xxiv. 1, 2. Luke xi. 49, 50. Acts vii. 51—54. Tacitus and Josephus both assign the same political circumstances as bringing on the war; in which they were probably correct: viz. the oppressive tyranny and insatiable avarice of Florus, and the disputes respecting Cæsarea. (Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 9; de Bell. ii. 13. Tac. Ann. xx. 23. Hist. v. 10.)

Whilst these things were transacting in the capital, Menahem, a son of Judas the Gaulonite, surprised the strong fortress of Massada on the dead sea; and having found there a large quantity of arms, he collected and equipped a numerous body of adherents, and assuming the title of king, hastened to Jerusalem. He was there welcomed with loud acclamations, and immediately invested with the chief command. The troops of Agrippa then offered to capitulate, and were permitted to quit the city in safety; after which the insurgents set fire to the palaces of Agrippa and the high priest; and Ananias himself, the persecutor of the Christian Jews, being found concealed in an aqueduct, was dragged forth and put to death. They likewise burnt the record office, containing the registries and the bonds of the rich men; whereby they both weakened the power of the wealthy, and attached the debtors to the war party.

The Roman garrison in the castle of Herod, being unprovided for a siege, and likewise closely pressed, next offered to surrender, on condition of being permitted to withdraw in safety from the city. The terms were accepted and sworn to by the insurgent chiefs; and the ensuing sabbath was chosen by the enemy for carrying the treaty into effect, in the expectation that they were not likely on that day to be molested in their retreat. No sooner, however, had they deposited their arms, than the Jews fell upon and treacherously slew them, with the exception of their commander, who, crying out that he would submit to circumcision, was spared upon those terms.

But neither this deed nor the murder of Ananias were approved by the more moderate, even of their own party; and though the insurgents had now complete possession of the city, gloom and dissatisfaction prevailed. The arrogant deportment also of Menahem, and his presumption in assuming the purple, gave offence; taking advantage of which, Eleazar, who regarded him with jealousy, contrived to slay him.

In the meanwhile Florus, on receiving intelligence of the rebellion, secretly exulted at the opportunity it seemingly presented of more largely gratifying his rapacity. His first step was to excite the inhabitants of Cæsarea to rise, who consequently slew the Jews to the number of twenty thousand, and the rest were sent to the gallies. By a remarkable coincidence this massacre happened at the very hour when the Romans were perfidiously butchered at Jerusalem. The Jews however overlooked the moral lesson set before them by Providence therein; and perceiving in this event only another proof that they were proscribed by the whole world, they desperately resolved to declare war against the world.

They now became anxious to increase their party. Persons of the first distinction in Jerusalem were thrown into prison and their houses plundered, if they evinced themselves unfavourable to the cause; whilst in the country the fanatics laid waste the property of such, and cruelly treated the owners. They likewise assaulted and captured several important fortresses and cities; and conformably with their defiance of the Gentile world, they burst forth upon the neighbouring Greek and Syrian cities, many of which they captured, and some they burnt; inflicting at the same time a terrible vengeance on those who had risen against their countrymen.

These important successes, and the rapid spread of the flame of insurrection, at length aroused Cestius Gallus, the prefect of Syria. Aided by Agrippa and the neighbouring princes, who furnished him with large contingents of troops, he collected an army amounting to between thirty and forty thousand men, of whom ten thousand were Romans. With this force he advanced from Ptolemais on Jerusalem. But his conduct was both barbarous and impolitic: whether the cities lying on his march opened their gates to or resisted him, he equally put the inhabitants thereof to death, and gave up their houses to pillage; whereby he determined numbers of the wavering Jews to join the insurgents.

On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Bethhoron, about eight miles from Jerusalem, the Jews, who were congregated in the capital to celebrate the feast of tabernacles, rushed out in countless multitudes, and attacked him with such irresistible impetuosity, that they defeated him with the loss of 500 men in killed, and would probably have destroyed his entire army, had not darkness put an end to the conflict. Cestius was so intimidated by this reverse, that he remained three days motionless. He was encouraged, however, by the peace party, with whom he secretly corresponded, to approach the city; but the insurgents, discovering that there was a conspiracy to open the gates to him, seized the ringleaders, and cast them headlong from the walls. Cestius nevertheless set fire to the buildings in the suburbs, and invested the upper city:[1] after which he pressed the siege with vigour for several days, and was on the point of having the gates thrown open to him by the moderate party, when, either from panic, or some other cause which has never been explained, he suddenly drew off his forces and retreated to Scopos, and the next day to Gabao, at the entrance of the difficult passes of Bethhoron. The Jews sallied forth and pursued him. The recollection that in those same passes Joshua had, in a former period of their history, destroyed the forces of five Canaanitish kings, would serve to excite their enthusiasm to the highest pitch. The result was, that Cestius sustained a series of disasters, which terminated in his entire defeat. He lost the whole of his military engines, (a seasonable prize to the Jews) together with all his baggage, about the half of his army were killed, and he arrived at Antipatris, with the other half, routed and pursued by the Jews to the very gates.[1]

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[1] Jerusalem consisted of three cities, each having three separate

This remarkable success of the Jews, at a time when they were nevertheless devoted to destruction, invites a more particular notice. God appears to have had two objects to accomplish by it; the first of which was the deliverance of the followers of Jesus. Up to this period, although the nation was, in the mass, evidently ripening for destruction, the gathering out of the election was nevertheless going forward; and the Christian Jews continued to form a spiritual sanctuary at Jerusalem, though in the

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walls, and each being built on separate hills. To the south was *Zion*, which being the highest was called *the upper city*. In the centre was *Acra*, which being lower than Zion, was *called the lower city*. Connected with this, yet having distinct fortifications, was mount *Moriah*, on which stood the temple. Northward was *Bezetha*, which signifies *the new city*, from its having been the last built.

[1] Tacit. Hist. v. 19.

midst, as has been seen, of persecution and reproach. But the Messiah, in whom they trusted, when he warned them of the coming wrath, gave them directions likewise, that when they should see Jerusalem compassed with armies, they should seize the first opportunity to escape. These instructions would appear perplexing, previous to the retreat of Cestius; for to escape from a city invested on all sides with troops must, under any circumstances, be hazardous, and in most cases impracticable. But the retreat of Cestius, in the manner related, and his subsequent defeat, gave the disciples ample opportunity to quit Jerusalem; which they failed not to take advantage of, and retired to Pella, a city in the mountains.[1]

The other object apparently was, to bring the long pending wrath upon the nation more generally. Facts at least evince that it proved a snare to multitudes, who still hung back and hesitated what course to take, until the victories of the insurgents decided them. Both these, and such as were yet desirous of peace, were far from guiltless of the sins of their nation. They were, for the most part, of that temporizing class, who form in general the inert mass of society; who failed to assert the principles of truth and righteousness, when it was their duty to God and their country to have done so; who, had they stood forward, when the enemies of Jesus were clamorous against him, would have prevented that faction from prevailing; but having by their supineness given boldness to the wicked, and suffered ungodliness to grow to an incurable height, they were now involved in those very dangers, which, when at a distance, they had looked upon with indifference or unbelief.

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[1] It is probable that these are the persons mentioned by Josephus, who says—That many Jews, dreading the retribution of the Romans, forsook the city at this time, amid the derision and contempt of the exulting Zealots. The Christians at Pella continued to call themselves "the Church of *Jerusalem*," and remained there for about sixty years, when they returned. (Euseb. lib. iii. 5.)

The news of the disasters which had attended the Roman arms, and the formidable character of the revolt, created a great sensation at Rome; insomuch that the emperor Nero deemed it expedient to commission Vespasian, the most able commander of the day, to repair immediately to Palestine; whilst Cestius and Florus, who richly deserved it for their crimes, were called to answer for their misconduct before the imperial and now exasperated tyrant. Cestius threw the blame of the revolt on Florus, but died from excitement and vexation, before his sentence was pronounced. The end of Florus is not recorded.

In the meanwhile the Jews were not idle during the respite afforded them. They obtained possession of all Judea and Galilee, with many cities in other districts. The Idumeans and Samaritans likewise revolted, though the latter did not unite with the Jews. Various persons were nominated as commanders, the most distinguished of whom was Joseph, a priest, better known as Flavius Josephus, the celebrated Jewish historian. According to his account of himself he was possessed of great eloquence, ability, energy, military skill, bravery and patriotism. He raised a hundred thousand men in Galilee, to which province he was appointed; put the cities into a good state of defence; constructed implements and engines of war, and disciplined his troops after the Roman method of fighting. But his efforts were greatly impeded by John of Gischala, a subtle and daring bandit, who, having joined the insurgents with several thousand men, in the hope of obtaining supreme power, laid continual snares for Josephus, whom he regarded as a rival aspirant for the crown.

In the following year, matters being in this state, Vespasian entered Palestine at the head of a formidable army, consisting of sixty thousand regular troops, which were reinforced on his arrival by Agrippa and other princes. The Jews were disinclined to give him battle in the open field, and the vast army of Josephus actually dispersed and fled at the news of his approach; but they nevertheless retired to the towns and fortresses, and there fought with the same desperate valour, though not with the same success, as in the campaign with Cestius. Vespasian proceeded with caution, resolved to reduce the fortresses and towns, before he attempted Jerusalem. All fell before him, and the Jews were punished with a severity that evinced the exasperation of the Romans, at the recent disgrace sustained by their arms. Vespasian's first act of vengeance was at Gadara, which place he took, and slew all, without distinction of age or sex, as also in the region round about; insomuch that many populous villages were left without inhabitant. This was probably intended to strike terror in the onset; but the Christian reader will at the same time remember, that these were the people who collectively had entreated Jesus to depart out of their coasts. Josephus threw himself into Jotopata, which held out during a siege of six weeks, in the course of which the garrison performed extraordinary feats of valour, and Josephus exhibited a fertility of stratagem and resources, which drew forth the admiration of the enemy. But the fortress was nevertheless taken, forty thousand males put to the sword, and the women and children sold into captivity. Josephus however contrived to save his own life; for being discovered in a cavern, he demanded an interview with Vespasian, alleging that he had something important to communicate; and on being taken in chains into the presence of the general, he assumed the air of a prophet, and predicted that Vespasian would ascend the imperial throne. He was immediately treated with respect, and when the prediction was afterwards verified, was much honoured both by Vespasian and his son Titus.[1]

Similar tragedies with that at Gadara and Jotopata were enacted at Japha, Tarichea, Gamala, Gischala, and other places. At Tarichea, Vespasian stained his laurels by an act of perfidy, after he had permitted the Jews to capitulate, by falling upon them himself while disarmed, and glutting his vengeance with a massacre; after which he sold forty thousand of the survivors into slavery. He was punished however at Gamala, the next place he attacked, by the discomfiture of the choicest of his legions, and the loss of a greater number than Josephus has been permitted to relate; though it is acknowledged to have been severe, including several distinguished officers. It took place under the immediate observation and to the great affliction of Vespasian himself, who again indulged his vindictiveness, when he did capture the city, by the extermination of every soul found in it. From Gischala, John the bandit contrived to make his escape with his troops, and unhappily for Jerusalem found refuge within its walls.

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[1] Dion. Cass. lxvi. Tac. hist. i. 10; Joseph de Bell. iii. 8. Josephus relates some marvellous circumstances connected with his concealment in the cavern, which was at the bottom of a dry well. But there are many things in that portion of the writings of this author, concerning his own proceedings at this period, which must be received with caution. He was first of the peace faction; and when forced into the revolt, was appointed, by their influence, to the command of Galilee; and thus taking up the cause with doubtful sincerity, he in the end proved little better than a renegade. There are also great discrepancies in his statement of matters, connected with this period, in one part of his history, as compared with his statements in another part of it. And many circumstances related of himself are by no means creditable, but betray that he could be guilty of falsehood and deceit, as also of cruelty; whilst great egotism and vanity prevail throughout. To this must be added, that the parties who might have contradicted him, in much which he states, were cut off by the indiscriminate sword of the Romans. A Jew of Tiberias, named Justus, who did write a history of the war, but whose work is only known by the allusions to it in Josephus, evidently related many things differently, since he comes in for a copious share of the abuse of Josephus. Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind, that these observations only refer to those particulars of the history which directly or indirectly affect Josephus himself: as regards those events which could be attested by the observation of Titus or of king Agrippa, nothing can be better authenticated; since, after having written his history of the war, he obtained the signature of these two distinguished individuals, certifying the truth of his narrative.

Galilee was now almost wholly subdued. The Samaritans also had submitted and received pardon; but not until Vespasian had made a severe example, by the slaughter of twelve thousand of them. Having accomplished these things, he next withdrew his army into winter quarters at Cæsarea. The following year he again took the field, and pursuing the same cautious policy, reduced Jericho and other places in Judea. But whilst thus engaged, intelligence reached him of the death of Nero, and the disordered state of affairs at Rome; upon which, his object being now to keep his army unbroken and to watch the progress of events in Italy, he again withdrew to Cæsarea.[1] He resolved on this course with the greater security, from the knowledge which he likewise had of the state of affairs in Jerusalem, where rival factions were now preying on each other, and performing his work for him as effectually as the Roman sword.

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[1] Dion. Cass. lxiii, lxiv.

Disunion had been the bane of the Jews from the beginning of the revolt. Not only was there a party throughout the country desirous of submission, who were only kept down and compelled to dissemble by dread of the insurgents; and who, when the Romans approached, betrayed the councils of the warriors to them, and otherwise weakened their hands; but the war party itself was made up of discordant sects and factions, each eyeing the other with jealousy, lest the one should obtain a preponderance aspired to by all; and contending among themselves, as soon as they were relieved from the pressure of the Roman arms.

In Jerusalem, matters were in a still more deplorable state. Previous to the defeat of Cestius, the Christians within its walls, though persecuted, were nevertheless a considerable restraint upon the proceedings of the lawless. The truths of God were on every opportunity asserted by them; the conscience of the multitude could not but acquiesce at times in the justice and propriety of their sentiments, however disinclined it might be to imitate their practice; and thus many atrocities, as the murders of Jonathan, Ananias, and the like, were disapproved when perpetrated, by those who had wanted moral courage to prevent them. But by the withdrawal of the followers of Jesus, the body which remained was deprived of its salt, and left to become a putrid carcase. Those restraints also, which God imposes by moral and legal considerations upon the wrathful and ferocious spirit of man, were removed: there were none to remind them of their responsibility to God; and they had shaken off the civil yoke both of Agrippa and the Romans. Thus were they left a prey to anarchy and lawlessness, to render manifest into what excesses the fallen nature of man may plunge, and what misery he inevitably brings upon himself, when he forsakes and is forsaken of God. Instead of one leader, in whom all might feel confidence, and under whom all might unite, dissension, like a hydra, produced its many heads, and "violence and strife only were spied within the city." Eleazar had, in his turn, assumed the title of *king*, and conducted himself with so much insolence over the aristocracy, that another Ananus, or Ananias, who was made chief priest after the murder of the former of that name, influenced the sanhedrim to depose him from his command. Ananus was himself at the head of what was considered the moderate party; who, while they alleged that they had no intention of admitting the Romans within the city, were inclined to propose terms of submission. But Eleazar nevertheless had the Zealots and Gaulonites on his side, and with them the populace; besides which, the treasures of the temple were at his disposal, and these he scrupled not to use for the purpose of procuring and retaining partisans. He now therefore seized upon the temple, and made it his head-quarters; upon which Ananus prepared to dislodge him. Many of the populace were enraged at this act of profanation by Eleazar and his party, and were induced to join with Ananus, who was aided by Joseph and Simon, two other priests of eminence. Much fighting and much slaughter ensued on both sides; but Ananus gained possession of the outer court of the temple, and blockaded Eleazar within the inner court and buildings of the sanctuary.

John of Gischala, in the meanwhile, acted with his characteristic duplicity. He affected to side with Ananus, but secretly betrayed his councils to the Zealots; whom he also persuaded that Ananus was about to call in the Romans, and advised them to send and inform the Idumeans thereof, and entreat their assistance. Trusty messengers were accordingly despatched, and the Idumeans, eagerly obeying the call, sent twenty thousand men by forced marches to Jerusalem. Being refused admittance by Ananus, who vainly endeavoured to win them over to his own party, they encamped without the walls. During the night which followed, Jerusalem was visited by a furious tempest of rain, accompanied by thunder and lightning. The guards in the outer court of the temple stole away one after the other for shelter; discovering which, a party of the Zealots crept under cover of the darkness to the gates, and favoured by the noise of the hurricane and the reverberation of the thunder, burst them open and proceeded to the city gates. These they also found unguarded, and bursting them open in like manner, let in the Idumeans. Returning hastily, a preconcerted signal was given to the Zealots in the inner court, who rushing out from within upon the troops of Ananus, at the same time that the Idumeans and their escort rushed in, a conflict ensued accompanied by shouts and screams more terrific and discordant than the tempest. Many destroyed each other from inability to distinguish in the darkness; and in the morning the court of the temple was found deluged with the blood of 8500 human victims.

The Zealots, having thus exterminated the forces in the outer court, and again obtained possession of the whole temple, were enabled by the help of the Idumeans to seize Ananus, and those of the chief priests who had aided him, who were all put to death, without any respect being paid to their office, and their bodies cast out naked into the streets. They next dissolved the sanhedrim, and convened another consisting entirely of their own creatures, whom they likewise preferred to the chief offices of the priesthood. They then commenced a persecution of the aristocracy. On the most frivolous charges of favouring the Romans, the rich were seized and dragged before the council thus appointed, and their condemnation and execution as certainly followed. The prisons were immediately replenished with fresh victims, destined to undergo the same mockery; another striking retribution on those who had so remarkably violated the forms of justice in the trial of Jesus. Twelve thousand persons of wealth or distinction perished in this manner; the principal temptation being the pillage of their houses. Many of those, who now raised their hands against them, had formerly been their own labourers, but driven by their oppressions to follow the more dangerous but more independent calling of the bandit, or to attach themselves to the marauding Zealots. One of the Christian prophets, whom the Jews had killed, had warned them of their danger in the following striking words: "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments moth-eaten; your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold, the hire of the labourers, who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter; (or as victims are nourished and fattened for the day of slaughter;) ye have condemned and killed the Just *One*, and he doth not resist you." (James v. 1—5.)

There were some of the aristocracy, who either from a depraved love of popularity, or really deluded by the pestiferous principles of the Zealots, had joined their party; but these only had their fate *deferred:* as soon as the party supposed to be inimical to the Zealots was hunted down, those who were professedly friendly to them were next attacked, on the same pretences. To have given decent burial to one that was slain, or to have been seen to weep or express a word of regret for them, was deemed sufficient evidence of their favouring the Romans. In two instances (those of Niger of Perea and a wealthy person named Zacharias,) the council having ventured to acquit or hesitate, the accused were stabbed by the Sicarii, in the midst of the court, and the senators were next attacked with clubs, and driven from their seats. Yet these ruffians called themselves *saviours*; as if they had studied by that appellation to mock those, who had crucified the *only* Saviour. These proceedings however undeceived the Idumeans, who after having first set open the prison-doors, in which were confined two thousand more intended victims, withdrew from the city in disgust. Under their protection the released prisoners and many others quitted Jerusalem likewise; most of whom repaired to the fortress of Massada, still in the hands of the Zealots. The commander at this time was Simon Bar-gioras of Gerasa, a fierce and subtle robber, the counterpart of John of Gischala; who having distinguished himself against Cestius at the passes of Bethoron, was appointed to, or rather assumed the command of, the district of Acribatene; but became so intolerable from his outrages and excesses, that Ananus had been obliged to march against him and expel him. After this he repaired to Massada, where the force which accompanied him procured for him the command. He there strengthened himself by enlisting in his service a multitude of slaves, whom he enticed by emancipating them;[1] numbers of the Sicarii, and many Idumeans also; and now, being further increased by the arrival of the fugitives from Jerusalem, he marched toward the metropolis. The Zealots who went forth against him were defeated; after which Simon ravaged the country round about, enriching himself thereby with the spoil, and increasing his army until he had twenty thousand followers.

In the mean time John of Gischala threw off the mask in Jerusalem. By fomenting jealousies among the followers of Eleazar, and attaching many to himself by bribes and promises, he thought himself strong enough to obtain the mastery, and set up as king. He seized upon the outer court of the temple, and established himself therein against Eleazar, with whom he had frequent conflicts, but without much advantage on either side. John's position however was the most favourable for mischief, and from it he sallied forth and continually robbed and maltreated friends and foes. His followers abandoned themselves to the most extravagant and insane licentiousness; they painted their faces and decked themselves in the gorgeous apparel discovered in their pillage, whether it was of males or females. In this effeminate attire they were one while guilty of disgusting obscenities; at other times they ran about frantic, stabbing every person whom they met.

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[1] Tacit. Hist. v. 12.

The inhabitants at length convened a secret council, to consider what was to be done; but they were now without counsel or understanding in Jerusalem, and came to the infatuated and fatal resolution of calling in Simon to their aid. He immediately took possession of the upper town, from which he attacked John; but no impression was made on him, though he was now exposed to the attacks of two assailing parties. In the meanwhile Simon and his followers soon shewed themselves to be as profligate as John's. In their conflicts with each other they set fire to whole streets; and when not actually contending, gluttony, drunkenness, rape, murder, violence, and robbery every where prevailed. "Righteousness had lodged in the city, but now murderers." Josephus describes it "as a den of robbers and murderers;"[1] another striking instance of the justice of the recompense which overtook those, who had preferred, in Barabbas, a robber, and a murderer, instead of Christ!

At the same time that all three were conflicting among themselves, each was vigilant to prevent any desertion of the inhabitants. "As leopards they watched over the city," and pounced with the fierceness of the beast of prey on all whom they suspected. The slightest symptom of impatience or dissatisfaction was construed into treason; the offender was immediately put to death, and his body thrown over the walls. The tyranny of Florus was considered at the time not to be surpassed; but the furnace was now heated seven times hotter than in his days, and a reign of terror and most grinding tyranny prevailed, which caused even him to be regretted.

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[1] De Bello, iv. 9, 10.

Such was the state of affairs at Jerusalem, whilst Vespasian, at Cæsarea, was watching the course of events in Italy. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius rapidly succeeded each other in the imperial dignity, and at length, in A.D. 69, the purple was offered to Vespasian. He accordingly repaired to Rome, leaving his son Titus to prosecute the Jewish war, who marched the following year for Jerusalem.

If the character of Titus, as a commander, is to be judged of by this war, it has certainly been overrated: he displayed much of the rash and impetuous bravery of youth; little of the skill and foresight of a good general. In the first onset he had a narrow escape of being taken prisoner or destroyed; for on arriving within four miles of the city, he pushed forward with a body of cavalry to reconnoitre. All was profound silence, and no soul appeared upon the walls; but as Titus, emboldened by this circumstance, approached nearer, suddenly the gates opened, the Jews sallied forth, and separated him, then entangled among gardens, from the main body of his escort. Titus however cut his way through the assailants, and escaped by the fleetness of his horse; and the remainder of his army presently came up, and encamped about the city.

The Jews were at this time again preparing to celebrate the passover; which festival was, on this occasion, remarkable on several accounts. It was the return of that ordinance, at which, only thirty-six years previously, they had crucified their Messiah; it was the last passover observed at Jerusalem; and it was at this time attended by unprecedented multitudes of strangers: for the war party, anxious to obtain reinforcements, had sent letters to their brethren in all the countries round about, inviting their special attendance. Moreover the circumstance that hostile armies were in view during this festival, ought to have operated as a solemn warning to the Jews, that their ways were not pleasing to God; since Moses, in whom they trusted, had assured them, that so long as they continued obedient strangers should not desire their land; and that their cities should be safe from aggression, during their absence at these feasts.[1]

Many warning omens and prodigies are likewise related by Josephus, by Tacitus, and by the Rabbins, as having occurred, from the procuratorship of Albinus downward to this period: as the appearing of a comet, with a tail like a scymitar, which hung over the city for a twelvemonth; a supernatural light which shone about the altar and temple at the feast of unleavened bread; the appearance in the heavens after sunset of a multitude of chariots and horsemen, which made a circuit round the city in battle array; a voice heard by the priests, who kept watch by night in the temple at the feast of Pentecost, saying, *Let us depart hence*, and followed by a rushing noise as of a multitude; and the spontaneous bursting open of the brazen gates of the outer court, which required twenty men to move.[1] Though some of these things, and others related, might have been the effect of imagination, they serve nevertheless to evince the excitable and feverish state of the public mind at this period. One circumstance however, which is well authenticated, created a melancholy foreboding in the minds of many. This was the conduct of a man named Jesus, considered as a maniac by some, but more probably one of the Essenes, many of whom (Josephus says) were endowed with the spirit of prophecy.[2] He went about day and night in the streets and on the walls of the city, uttering with a loud voice woes against the temple, Jerusalem, and the nation. When dragged before Albinus and scourged, he uttered no cry for mercy, and betrayed no symptom of pain, but at every stripe exclaimed, 'Woe, woe to Jerusalem!' When demanded by Albinus who he was, he gave no reply; who concluding him to be deranged, ordered him to be loosed. From that time he continued his mournful ditty, derided, insulted, afflicted, and sometimes pitied. He rebuked nobody who struck him, he thanked nobody who gave him food, but continued his course as if insensible to suffering. At length, pursuing his way on the walls, during the siege by Cestius, he suddenly stopped, and crying aloud, 'Woe, woe to myself,' was immediately struck dead by a stone from a Roman balista.

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[1] Exod. xxxiv. 23, 24.

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[1] Joseph. de Bell. vi. 5. Tac. Hist. v. 12, 13. Talmud, Ioma, cap. 31.

[2] The *Essenes* have been casually mentioned before, but they make little figure in Jewish history, though recognised by all writers as forming a distinct and singular people. Philo considers them a contemplative and mystical sect, and calls them *Theraputæ*. They were ascetic in their habits, abstained from wine, and avoided towns; on which account some have concluded them to have been *Rechabites*, descendants of Hobab, Moses' father in law; but without sufficient reason. (Fleury, pt. iv. c. 5.) They practised rigid celibacy among themselves, but adopted and brought up the children of others. They sent gifts to the temple, but offered no sacrifice. They received the scriptures, but not the traditions; though they nevertheless had many opinions peculiar to themselves, some of which were derived from the Oriental philosophy. They were strict observers of the Sabbath, scrupulously regardful of their oath, upright in all their dealings, strict predestinarians or fatalists in doctrine, and accustomed to regard with indifference both pleasure and pain. They were in considerable numbers in the vicinity of Alexandria, and also on the shores of the Dead Sea, where they suffered cruelly from the army of Vespasian in his conquest of Jericho, being tortured in various ways to compel them to blaspheme; but all which they patiently endured, neither uttering a cry nor shedding a tear. One of their number, named John, was appointed commander of the region of Thamua, &c. at the same time that Josephus was of Galilee.

When the Jews perceived themselves to be seriously invested, they agreed to cease from their own conflicts for awhile, and uniting their forces, rushed out upon the tenth Roman legion, while the soldiers were entrenching themselves. Their furious impetuosity and increasing multitudes amazed the Romans, who would have been overwhelmed, had not Titus hastened to their succour and attacked the Jews on the flank. Multitudes however still pouring forth, the Romans retreated up the mount of Olives; where, finding the Jews still pursuing, they were seized with panic, dispersed, and fled in all directions. Titus was again left in a perilous situation, with only a handful of followers; on which a few Roman soldiers, perceiving his danger, taunted the fugitives; who then rallied, and pouring down the hill in turn upon the Jews, now breathless with the ascent, compelled them to retire.[1] The Romans nevertheless suffered severely in the encounter, whilst great spirit and confidence was infused into the Jews.

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[1] Bishop Newcombe and others have concluded this to be the time when the Christians fled out of the city; (Observ. p. 422.) but many

A few days afterwards, by a well conducted stratagem, the Jews obtained another advantage. A large party issued from the gates, who cowered under the walls, as if afraid of advancing towards the Romans; toward whom they nevertheless stretched forth their arms, in the attitude of supplication; whilst those on the walls appeared to be pelting them with stones. The Romans were deceived, and concluding it to be the advocates for peace, driven out of the city by the war faction, the troops nearest to them advanced; when the gates suddenly opened, and the Jewish myriads, pouring forth, surrounded the Romans, whilst a shower of darts and missiles fell upon them from the walls. A few only effected their escape: the rest were cut to pieces, and the Jews derided the Romans with great exultation.

The principal attack of Titus was on Bezetha, where the walls were low. Here he soon effected a breach, and got possession of it, but not without a desperate struggle on the part of the Jews, and considerable loss which he must himself have suffered; but Josephus invariably conceals the casualties of the Romans, not being permitted probably by Titus to name them. Another breach was soon after deemed practicable in the lower or middle city, and Titus entered with his troops; but he was again doomed to sustain a defeat, and was glad to effect his retreat by the way he entered: nevertheless, he grad-

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weighty reasons may be urged against the probability of such an inference; the chief of which is, that the city had been invested *before* by Cestius; and they would have despised our Lord's directions not to have attempted their retreat, on the first opportunity, after the token had occurred which he gave them. (Luke xxi. 20—22.)

ually gained possession of the second town. The temple however, the upper city and the castles, constituting the strongest portion of the defences, still remained, and a united people within would, humanly speaking, have compelled the Romans to raise the siege. But God had now turned to be their enemy, and the same divisions and conflicts continued within the walls. John had contrived to surprise Eleazar, by sending his men disguised, with swords under their garments, into the inner court for worship; who, suddenly falling upon Eleazar, slew him, obtained possession of the inner court, and the followers of Eleazar then united with those of John. There were now therefore but two parties, under John and Simon; but these two chiefs watched each other like tigers; and the one was often restrained from attacking the Romans at an advantage, through fear of being attacked himself by his rival.

A new and more formidable enemy next appeared in the field, in the shape of *famine*. The successes of the Jews, during the siege, proved in the result a snare to them in several respects. It encouraged them to continue their conflicts with each other, whereby much provision was often destroyed, lest it should prove useful to the opposite party; it caused them to be prodigal and wanton, in the use of that in their own possession, under the confidence that the Romans would speedily break up and retire; and it determined them to resist the frequent overtures of Titus, until at length, exasperated by their obstinacy, he resolved on the extermination of them all. The deficiency of provisions had become more sensibly felt every day. On the 17th July the daily sacrifice was obliged to be discontinued from the want of victims; the first time it had ceased to be offered since it was restored by Judas Maccabeus. John, having the magazines of the temple at his command, took care of his own men; the troops of Simon, being unprovided, obtained food by violence, whereever they could seize it. The miserable inhabitants were left to obtain it as they could. Many parted with their whole substance for a measure of corn, and then dared not grind or bake it, lest the noise of the mill, or the smell of the oven, should be noticed by the troops of Simon.

Still the Roman arms were attended with disaster and humiliation. On the one side John undermined their works, and threw down engines, towers and embankments together; in another direction Simon, emulous of the skill and valour of his rival, rushed out with torches, and set fire to the engines and battering trains; and a total defeat of the whole lines would again have followed, had not Titus hastened with fresh troops and relieved them, when on the point of fleeing.

Deprived of his artillery, and having no timber at hand for constructing other engines, Titus now determined to turn the siege into a blockade; to accomplish which more effectually, he dug a deep fosse with a high embankment all round the city, on which he built towers at short intervals; thus accomplishing a prophecy of Jesus—"For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side." (Luke xix. 43.)

At length the troops of John began to suffer from the famine, which greatly aggravated the miseries of the usual inhabitants. Whosoever appeared with a countenance less wan and emaciated than others was immediately suspected of having concealed provisions; and if any food was found in his house, he was put to death for not having exposed it in the market. A small quantity of chopped hay fetched a high price; the shoes, belts, and leather shields were boiled and eaten; still more revolting substances were next resorted to; even the dunghills were carefully ransacked for any thing, however loathsome, that might appease the cravings of hunger. The aged and infirm, together with the children, and all who were unable to take care for themselves, were left to perish. The usual ties and sympathies of nature were disregarded. If one member of a family found a morsel of food, he was obliged to eat it privily, or it was snatched from his mouth by some other member; children and parents contending with each other. One circumstance excited universal horror. Mary, a noble lady of Perea, in the delirium produced by hunger, slew and boiled her own infant, and having eaten part of it, set the remainder aside. Allured by the smell of food, a party of marauders burst in, and charged her with the crime of having *eaten;* on which she uncovered the remains of her child, and with frantic irony invited them to partake.

The severity of Titus added to their miseries, all who deserted to him being now put to death. Many nevertheless preferred the risk of perishing by the Romans to the certainty of becoming the victims of hunger; and stealing therefore over the walls by night, they crept to the purlieus of the Roman camp in search of offal. In the hope of striking terror into the besieged, as many as five hundred of these miserable wretches were crucified at one time; and those who gave their voices to crucify the Lord of glory, now saw their city surrounded by a multitude of their countrymen writhing under similar punishment. Those who perished within the city were either thrown over the walls into the ravines, or left unburied in the streets; which caused at length so horrible a stench, that it became necessary to carry them out and bury them. A deserter, who had been charged with this office, declared to the Romans, that 115,880 corpses had been thus disposed of, at one gate only, between the 14th of April and the 1st of July.

Titus however, finding that no impression was made on the besieged by his severities, relaxed so far as to permit desertion; but the mercy of this act was frustrated from other causes. Some of the Jews who deserted were found to have swallowed jewels or gold, which they were afterwards detected searching for in their excrements. As soon as this was known, the Arabs and Syrians in the army of Titus struck them down and ripped them open to examine their entrails; and though rebuked and threatened for it by Titus, it only caused them to dispatch their wretched victims more privately, as was attested by the mangled remains discovered every morning.

In the meanwhile Titus had been for some weeks collecting timber from a distance; and considering that he had now sufficient to reconstruct his battering engines, he determined on resuming offensive operations. After much hard fighting and repeated checks, he succeeded in scaling and keeping possession of the castle of Antonia; which place the Jews, at the beginning of the war, had captured in half the time, though garrisoned by Romans. He next established himself in the outer court of the temple, and having from thence set fire to the gates of the inner court, which were of wood covered with silver, he prepared for a general assault on it. All these operations however were attended with severe contests and much loss.

Previous to the attack, Titus, who was desirous of saving the temple itself from destruction, on account of its magnificence, held a council of six of his principal officers, and submitted to them the expediency of so doing. Three were for its destruction, and three for its preservation; on which Titus threw his casting vote in with the latter. But a greater than Titus had determined otherwise. The soldiers had orders on the following night to clear away the rubbish and smoking embers of the cloisters of the outer court, which had been set on fire by the Jews; but whilst they were so employed, the Jews rushed out upon them. The Romans repulsed them, and followed with them fighting into the inner court; when one of the soldiers, perceiving an open door or window of an upper apartment, stood upon the shoulders of his comrades, and threw a lighted firebrand into it. The dry cedar was instantly in a blaze. Shouts from the one party, and cries and shrieks from the other, rent the air; and were responded to by the troops of Simon, from the walls of the upper city, with the phrensied wildness of despair. Titus ran down from the Antonia, and would have had the fire extinguished; but his men were so excited as to be deaf to his remonstrances, and, losing all discipline, they rushed from every quarter to the scene of action, crowding in at the gate of the inner court in such confused masses, that many fell and were trampled to death. The rage of those who gained entrance, at the remembrance of their frequent defeats, was uncontrollable. The Jews resisted with equal fury and desperation, howling and wailing as they fought. No quarter was given or looked for on either side. John with a small body of troops performed the astonishing feat of cutting his way through the dense mass that jammed up the entrance, and making good his retreat to Simon in the upper town; the remainder of his troops, perceiving deliverance hopeless, preferred death rather than surrender, and fell by the Roman sword. A multitude of women and unarmed inhabitants were likewise cut to pieces in the indiscriminate slaughter. These, according to Tacitus, had been led by their prophetical books to believe, that in the very crisis of the siege their Messiah would appear and deliver them; and having assembled in the temple, at the instigation of a false prophet, to witness a miraculous interference, were surprised by the Roman conquest of the outer court.[1]

The destruction of the temple, by a remarkable coincidence, took place on the 9th day of the month Ab, the very day on which it had been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, about 660 years before.

Simon and John were reduced to the utmost extremities by famine; and now that circumstances had compelled a union between the chiefs, their soldiers began to quarrel, with death staring them in the face, about the division of the plunder. Fierce contentions arose; and as scorpions, when they find themselves environed by danger, strike their stings into each other, and then into themselves, so this serpent brood, with as deadly a venom, cut down their own comrades, and afterwards, in many instances, fell upon their own swords. The remainder, with their leaders, crept down like living spectres into the caverns and dungeons under ground, hoping to remain concealed until an opportunity of flight should present itself; and the Romans, meeting with no further resistance, finally took the upper city, which completed the conquest of Jerusalem, after a siege of four months' duration.

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[1] Tac. Hist. v. 13; and compare Zechariah xiv. which is probably the prophecy which the Jews trusted in.

It has been computed on good data, that one million and one hundred thousand Jews perished from first to last in Jerusalem during this revolt; besides which, ninety-seven thousand captives were sold into slavery, or sent to the amphitheatres of the different provinces, to fight as gladiators.[1] Great numbers also were sold as slaves during the campaigns of Vespasian; and a greater multitude left Palestine and went into other countries to avoid captivity or the sword. An immense treasure was found collected by Simon and John; so liberal a distribution of which was made by Titus among his troops, that gold fell in Syria to one-half its value. In the expectation that more might be concealed, Titus had the remains of the temple razed to the ground, and the foundations dug up; thus literally not leaving one stone upon another, as Jesus had predicted. (Matt. xxiv.2.) All the buildings of the city were likewise destroyed, excepting the towers of Phasaelis, Mariamne, and Hippicus, built by Herod, which were left as a trophy of the Roman conquest. In this utter destruction of the city, and removal of the people, were further manifest the reasons, why God permitted temporary successes to the Jewish arms. In ordinary cases of revolt, the punishment would have been only of an ordinary character, and the wrath predicted by Messiah would not in that case have been accomplished; but the exasperation excited in the Romans by their frequent checks and defeats, prompted them to unusual severities, by means of which God fulfilled to the very letter all that he had foretold.

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[1] Basnage, tome i. c. 8; Lipsius, lib. ii. c. 21. It must be borne in mind that unusual multitudes attended the Passover on this occasion Cestius, when he was prefect, obtained a computation, founded on the number of lambs offered at the Passover, and on which a tax was levied, from which it appeared that the number of persons amounted to 2,556,000. Tacitus states the population of Jerusalem at 600,000, (Hist. v. 13,) but he is not speaking of the season of the Passover, and must apparently have underrated it, in any case. To the calculation above-mentioned, of those who perished by the sword or famine in the last war, or were sold, must be added the deserters, who were spared; and many who at an early period of the siege probably escaped.

Simon and John were discovered in their retreat. Both were taken to Rome and dragged in chains at the car of Titus on the occasion of his triumph; after which the former was conducted naked to the Forum, with a rope round his neck, being scourged as he went along, and there put to death. John, who had surrendered himself on a promise of having his life spared, was condemned to be kept in chains, and languished the remainder of his days in a dungeon.

At the same triumph of Titus the golden table of shewbread, the candlestick with seven branches, the censers, the silver trumpets, and the copy of the law were exhibited among the spoils carried before him; and are sculptured on the arch called after his name, which remains at Rome to the present day.

Thus a final termination was put to the Mosaical dispensation, about 2600 years after it had first been established in Sinai.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DISPERSION AND SECOND CAPTIVITY.

[A.D. 73—311.] After the destruction of Jerusalem, there yet remained important fortresses in the hands of the Jews, which however speedily fell before the superior skill and tactics of the Romans. The capture of Massada, the last of them, exhibited in a striking manner the desperate character of the Zealots; by a party of whom, under the command of Eleazar, a descendant of Judas the Gaulonite, it was garrisoned. When the Romans had effected a breach, and waited only for the morning to storm it, Eleazar summoned his followers around him, and avowing the hopeless state of their affairs, advised that they should destroy each other, and thus save their wives and children from abuse, and disappoint the enemy of his prey. The proposal was readily acceded to; and having first collected their valuables in a heap and set them on fire, they next selected ten persons by lot to be the executioners of the remainder. These resolutely despatched their comrades and their families, and next chose one from their own number to perform the same revolting office on themselves; who, having accomplished it, finally plunged his weapon in his own breast. Two women nevertheless contrived to conceal themselves, with five children, and were the only persons whom the Romans found, on entering the breach, to relate the horrors of that tragical night.

Palestine was now completely subdued, and occupied by Roman posts; and Agrippa, who thus lost his dominions, was content to end his days peaceably, but with comparative obscurity, at Rome.

UNDER THE PAGAN EMPERORS.

The punishment of Judah was not confined to those who dwelt in Palestine: their brethren in other countries had directly or indirectly participated in the nation's guilt, and were consequently to be involved in the nation's doom. Already had the inhabitants of various cities round about, encouraged by the example of the Romans, oppressed them in different ways. In Nearda, in Mesopotamia, just after Caligula's reign, they suffered a great massacre. In Seleucia the Greeks and Syrians conspired against them, as a common enemy; and falling upon them by surprise, slew fifty thousand. In Alexandria, the city in which for three centuries they had enjoyed repose, about the same number were slaughtered, in the year that Cestius was defeated; and their temple in that city was soon after destroyed. In the same year the Jews of Damascus were decoyed into a snare and cut to pieces. At Scythopolis the Syrians, having first obtained their assistance against the

Greeks, next rewarded their services by putting thirteen thousand of them to death.

Such massacres now became common, wheresoever there was a Jewish colony within the same walls with Greeks or Syrians. To the credit indeed of Antioch and some few other cities, the majority of the inhabitants discountenanced the disposition of the more lawless to molest the Jews; probably owing to the influence of the numerous Christians now among them. Nevertheless, the conduct of the Jews at length incited the Antiochians to send a deputation to Titus, entreating his permission to expel them from their walls; but the following touching refusal was returned: "*The country of the Jews is laid waste: they have no home to which they can withdraw: let them alone.*"

About forty years later, toward the end of Trajan's reign, the feud between the Jews and Greeks burst out afresh, and produced serious consequences to both parties.[1] Egypt was the first scene of the disturbances, where the Jews, headed by one Andrew, were in the first instance successful. But the Greeks, retiring upon Alexandria, obtained complete mastery of that city, and again deluged the streets thereof with Jewish blood.

Infuriated at the news of this massacre, the Jews of Cyrene next took up arms, under one Luke, or *Lucuas*,[2] and, penetrating to Thebais, slaughtered all who came in their way, to the amount of two hundred and twenty thousand persons. Encouraged by this success, the Jews of Cyprus next rose upon the inhabitants of that island, and slew two hundred and forty thousand.[1] The Jews were now led to believe that the time was actually arrived spoken of by their prophets, when they were to go forth and tread down their enemies throughout the world. The distinction between Zealots and Moderates, which up to this period had still existed, now entirely disappeared: all were animated by the same spirit of ruthless fanaticism against the Gentiles; and a general revolt throughout the East ensued. For some time they had been silently creeping into Palestine: they now poured into it from all quarters, rebuilt the ruined towns and villages, and attacked those places occupied by the enemy. The Romans were so taken by surprise, that they had no troops at hand to stem the torrent of immigration; and the death of Trajan at this crisis afforded a further season of impunity and of preparation to the revolters.

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[1] The origin of this revolt is not manifest; but it is not improbable that the conduct of Trajan towards the Jews at Rome might have first re-kindled the irritation of that people generally. They are said to have offended his empress by celebrating one of their festivals, whilst the rest of the city was mourning the loss of her infant daughter; on which Trajan, at her instigation, caused them to be surrounded in their quarters, and a terrible punishment to be inflicted.

[2] Eusebius, lib. iv. cap. 2.

At this juncture arose another of those impostors, who had so repeatedly proved a snare to this erring people. He was a bandit, who having acquired a trick of holding lighted tow in his mouth in such a manner as to emit flame and sparks, was immediately concluded to be a Messiah; and being brought into the presence of Rabbi Akiba,[2] the most eminent of the Jewish teachers of that day, he was by him declared to be the star foretold by Balaam, who was to arise out of Jacob and to have dominion. Not to believe on him was now regarded as a sin: the entire multitude was swayed by the authority of the rabbi; the impostor, now surnamed *Bar-Chochab*, (*Son of the Star*,) was crowned king at Bither; and speedily found himself at the head of an army of 200,000 men, having 50 castles and 985 towns and large villages in their possession, including the ruins of Jerusalem, which they prepared to rebuild.

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[1] Dion. Cass. lib. lxviii. This writer states that the victors manifested the most savage exultation, quaffing the blood and girding themselves with the entrails of their victims. The bigotted attachment however of the Zealots to the law of Moses, which forbids the using of blood, more especially of those who would be accounted unclean, is a sufficient refutation of this calumny.

[2] The Jews say, that Akiba excelled the learned and pious of *all* ages; and that God revealed more to him than he did to Moses.

The decrees of Hadrian, who had succeeded Trajan, and who aimed at the extermination of Judaism itself, served to confirm the Jews more determinedly in their revolt; but they were unable to resist his arms, and their dream of glory was therefore quickly dissipated. According to Dion, the Romans were often defeated, and lost the flower of their army; but the Jews were nevertheless expelled from Cyprus, on which island none of their race were ever afterwards permitted to set foot; in Cyrene and Egypt they fell before Martius Turbo;—and Palestine was gradually reduced by Julius Severus. The venerable rabbi Akiba, now in his hundred and twentieth year, was among the first taken, and by the barbarous orders of Hadrian had his flesh torn from his body with an iron comb. Barchochab fell among the last, at the siege of Bither, the surrender of which fortress terminated the war.[1] No less than 580,000 Jews perished by the sword during this revolt, besides multitudes by famine, disease, and other calamities, forming a total, according to some writers, of 700,000; and the slave-markets were again glutted with the captives.[1]

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[1] The Jews themselves stigmatised the memory of their leader, by changing his name from *Bar-chochab*, or *Son of a star*, to *Bar-cozba*, i. e. *Son of a lie*.

Hadrian next took measures to destroy as much as possible the fond attachment of the Jews to the soil of Zion, and more especially to particular spots rendered sacred by the recollections of former times. The ancient monuments were pulled down and the ruins carted away; with the stones of the temple a theatre was erected, and a new temple dedicated to Jupiter built on the old site; a ploughshare was drawn over the consecrated ground, as a sign of perpetual interdiction; and a new city, called *Ælia*, arose on it, over the gates of which, in order to repel the entrance of a Jew, was sculptured the image of a swine.[2] The rest of Judea became a desolate wilderness; the land was permitted to go out of cultivation, beasts of prey took up their abode in the ruined cities and villages, and all bore melancholy traces of "THE DESOLATOR." (Heb. of Dan. ix. 26, 27.)

The tolerance and leniency of Antoninus Pius, who succeeded to the imperial throne after Hadrian, tended to assuage in some measure the ferocity of the Jews, and to induce them to settle down quietly for a while. Though still excluded from Mount Zion, they were permitted to occupy Tiberias, Nazareth, Capernaum and Sepphoris; their celebrated schools at Jamnia and Tiberias, which had been closed by Hadrian, were re-opened; and at the latter city their chief rabbi, with the title of *Patriarch*, fixed his residence. Free liberty of exercising their own worship was granted, with the single restraint that they should not to attempt to proselyte others. They were allowed a council for the regulation of their own religious affairs; and their patriarch was permitted to receive tribute, and to appoint to all offices which solely respected themselves.

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[1] Dion. Cass. lib. lxix. and Jerome in Cler. p. 169. The history of this period is greatly entangled, especially the Rabbinical notices of it, which conflict much with each other. Some refer the revolt to the reign of Trajan, others to that of Hadrian; some make the revolt of the Jews of Egypt, Cyrene and Cyprus altogether a distinct period, and to have been suppressed before the war in Palestine; whilst others make the whole one continuous event. By the same means, those who make two events of it state that a loss on the part of the Jews, equal in amount to that under Hadrian, took place in Cyrene and Egypt previously. See Jerome in Chron. p. 166; Eusebius Hist. lib. iv; Orosius, lib. vii. c. 12.

[2] Jerome in Chron. p. 163, *An.* 136; Gibbon's Decl. of Rom. Emp. vol. iv. p. 100.

The Jews of the Mesopotamian provinces were differently circumstanced; for those countries having been left unsubdued by Trajan, and afterwards abandoned by Hadrian, the Jews resident therein were chiefly under the power of the Persians. They nevertheless came, like the Jews of the west, under the authority of one individual, who was called the *Resch-Glutha*, or prince of the captivity; whereby, within about half a century from the war with Hadrian, the entire of the Jews formed two distinct and regular communities, each under their respective head.[1] The eastern Jews had likewise eminent schools at Nahardea, Sura and Pumbeditha; out of which arose an order of rabbins called *Gaonim*, or *Illustrious*.

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[1] The Resch Glutha, owing to the larger measure of influence granted to the Jews by the Persian monarchs, greatly exceeded the Patriarch of Tiberias in splendor. He resided in a magnificent palace, had his cup-bearers and other officers of state, and was complimented with valuable presents by all who approached him; and when, on occasions of state, he visited the Shah, he was arrayed in cloth of gold, fifty guards marched before him, and the Jews whom he met did homage and fell into his train. Yet from an affectation of humility, prompted perhaps by a sound discretion, he refused the chariot sent for him on these occasions by the Shah, but walked behind it; and at other times contented himself with a stately seclusion.

ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

[A.D. 312—379.]—From the reign of Antoninus Pius down to that of Constantine the Great the Jews had suffered but little molestation from the Romans, and were some time objects of favour with the emperor.[1] They could not indeed suppress their hatred of the Christians, which was not unfrequently manifested by outrages and tumults; but such ebullitions were now agreeable to the Pagans, who had themselves become persecutors of the despised Nazarenes.[2] The conversion, however, of the emperor Constantine, and the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the empire, necessarily altered greatly the relative positions of both parties. On the one hand, the Jews had no longer the opportunity of procuring the punishment of Christians, by accusing them, on the score of their religion, before the Roman tribunals; on the other hand, the emperor issued a decree, prohibiting Jews from possessing Christian slaves, whom they often had abused by forcible circumcision.

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[1] The emperor Heliogabalus was favourable to the Jews, from the circumstance (it is stated) of having been nursed by a Jewess. He submitted to circumcision, and abstained from eating swine's flesh. Alexander Severus, upon philosophical principles, paid honour both to Christ and Abraham, as good men; and their busts adorned his gallery. He so protected the Jews, that they called him *the Father of the Synagogue.*

[2] Attempts had been made to unite the Jews and Christians into one sect. The Ebionites of Pella embraced both Christ and Moses; but they were refused by both parties, and gradually melted away. (See Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 281, who artfully endeavours to insinuate that they were the more primitive and orthodox Christians.) Paul of Samosata, a famous Jew who flourished about A.D. 270, attempted the same thing, but was viewed as an apostate by the Jews, and as a heretic by the Christians.

The hostility of the Jews against the Christians was far from being mitigated by this change. Instead of rejoicing at the prospect of the speedy abolition of idolatry, they regarded the triumph of Christianity over Paganism with mingled emotions of envy and of anger; and they looked round for an opportunity of still gratifying their hatred;—a hatred not as yet provoked by any injuries inflicted on them by the Christians. In the east they still succeeded in inflaming the Magi against them; whilst the rise of the Arian heresy speedily afforded them an opportunity of indulging their rancour within the Roman territories. When the Arians proceeded to persecute the Trinitarians, the Jews of Alexandria aided the former and their heathen allies; and an unseemly combination of Jew, Pagan, and Heretic was witnessed against Christ. According to Athanasius, on this occasion they burned churches, violated consecrated virgins, and were guilty of other excesses.

The accession of Julian to the imperial throne, was, from his well-known enmity against Christianity, hailed by the Jews with delight. Principle was again lost sight of in the mists of passion; and they cared not to see idolatry re-established, so that they might but behold their hated rival humbled at the same time. Julian exceeded their anticipations: it was agreeable both to his inclination and his policy to encourage those who were determined adversaries of the religion he abhorred; and he therefore immediately rescinded the decrees of Constantine against them, relieved them from several taxes, and finally resolved not only to remove the ban, which had so long excluded them from Jerusalem, but to rebuild the temple on Mount Moriah, and to establish the Jewish worship in its ancient splendor.

The Jews now declared Julian to be their Messiah, and came forward to the work of rebuilding with the utmost enthusiasm. Their ready offerings vied in extent and costliness with those of the first temple. Men and women of chief note among them deemed it the highest distinction to perform the most menial and laborious offices. Many of the tools they wrought with were of gold and silver, some of them set with jewels, and destined to be afterwards laid up as consecrated implements. Those who were unable to lend a helping hand, through age or infirmity, nevertheless flocked in multitudes to Palestine, to be spectators of the work. The Christians were prevented, both by the jealousy of the Jews and the officers of Julian, from approaching near to the sacred precincts; and awaited at a distance the result with breathless interest. He whom they worshipped as God had predicted the continued desolation of the Jewish temple, until the nation should acknowledge him as Messiah; and the truth and the religion of Jesus appeared to be suspended on the issue. The Jews looked forward with the confidence of men, who saw the powers of this world enlisted on their side: the Christians had nothing to hope for but divine interposition. The work proceeded; the buildings previously erected on the holy site were removed, the ground cleared, and the new foundations laid; when, suddenly, the mount trembled; balls of fire burst from the foundations with a tremendous explosion, accompanied by a violent whirlwind; the workmen fled in consternation; all that was accomplished was overthrown; and the design, thus signally interrupted, was finally prevented, by the premature death of Julian, in the second year of his reign.[1]

Jovian, the successor of Julian, immediately reversed the decrees of his predecessor, and reduced the Jews to their previous condition. In subsequent reigns their circumstances fluctuated according to the disposition of the emperor: by one they were restricted from building synagogues; by another those already built were closed: one while an ultra liberality prompted some to build houses of worship for them; at another time a zeal of Christianity, equally in the extreme, set their synagogues on fire or destroyed them.[2]

During the long reign of Theodosius II, Christianity became more firmly established; but the Jews still ventured to shew their dislike to it by insults, though they dared not proceed to acts of violence. They cursed "the Galileans" in their synagogues, and blasphemed the name of Jesus in the public streets. But the feast of Purim was the opportunity which they chiefly availed themselves of for indulging their malignity. They had previously been accustomed to dress up a figure, which they called Haman, and to suspend him on a gibbet in the synagogue: they now proceeded to affix this effigy to a cross in the open street, and with significant demonstrations, that they identified Haman with Jesus, they heaped upon it every possible mark of ignominy and derision. This led to serious tumults in various places, not unfrequently terminating in bloodshed and the destruction of their synagogues; to prevent which Theodosius at length prohibited the public solemnization of the festival.[1]

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[1] Tradition has, as usual, embellished the history of this event; but the facts above stated are derived from the narrative of Ammianus Marcellinus, a friend of Julian, and from Gregory of Nazienzen, a sober Christian, who wrote his account of the event in the same year that it occurred. Mr. Gibbon, notwithstanding his constant proneness to disparage every thing partaking of the miraculous, not excepting Christianity itself, is baffled with these facts, and compelled to admit the indisputable authority of the witnesses; whilst at the same time he takes refuge in the notion, 'that at this important crisis any singular *accident* of nature would assume the appearance and produce the effect of a real prodigy.' (Amm. Marc. lib. xxiii. 1. Greg. Naz. orat. iv. Gibbon's Rome, vol. iv. p. 107, ed. 1802.)

[2] Even the good Ambrose, of Milan, exults in having stirred up his people not to leave any place standing where Christ was denied. (Ep. to Theodosius.)

IRRUPTION OF THE BARBARIANS.

[A.D. 379—526.]—During the sovereignty of Theodosius and his associate Gratian, the Roman government and territory were by him divided into the eastern and western empires; and about the same period commenced those irruptions of the Goths and Huns, followed by the inroads of other barbarian tribes, which led to the extinction of the western empire with Augustulus, A.D. 476.

During the disorders which ensued, in the progress of these events, the authority of the Christians over the Jews was greatly weakened. In some instances both parties were involved in the same disasters;

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[1] There were not indeed wanting instances of *violence* on the part of the Jews. At Immestar, near Antioch, they seized a Christian boy, and having fastened him to a cross, scourged him so unmercifully that he died. At Alexandria they raised a cry during the night, that the principal church was on fire, and then attacked the Christians, as they sallied forth to render assistance, and slew many. But they paid dearly for this outrage; for the next day Cyril, the archbishop, attacked them in return, expelled them from the city, and gave up their houses to pillage. The spirit, however, and conduct of Cyril, notwithstanding they are set forth by the Christian historian Socrates, do not shine on this occasion.

but more commonly, by their readiness for transit, the Jews were enabled to avoid the storm, and afterwards to approach their barbarian invaders as friends. They followed their camp and trafficked with them for the spoil, and more especially for the captives; whereby they again became possessed of the persons of Christians, whom they often treated with great tyranny. Sometimes they actually took up arms, and joined with the barbarians in their attacks upon the Christians, or helped to defend those places already captured.[1]

RISE OF POPERY.

[A.D. 527—622.]—When Justinian came to the purple, the spirit of superstition and intolerance, which had been gradually developing itself in the Christian church, began to assume that determined character and form, commonly denominated *Popery*, and to exercise a powerful influence on the circumstances of the Jews. Their position with their heathen allies had been precarious; and they were not unfrequently despoiled and oppressed by them: but when the barbarian conquerors themselves yielded to the religion of those whom they had vanquished, and infused at the same time into their Christianity no small degree of ignorance and ferocity, the Jews began to discover that they had been abetting those who were likely to become the most tyrannical of all their oppressors.

Previous to the time of Justinian, the Jews can scarcely be said to have been *persecuted* by the Christians, beyond that retaliation, or those restrictive measures, which had been continually provoked by their own insolence and malice. The occasional destruction of their synagogues appear to have been the only acts of wilful aggression on the part of the Christians; and these were directed not so much against the persons as the religion of the Jews. Nor does it seem to have been other than a measure of reasonable protection of his subjects, that Justinian should publish edicts emancipating those Christians who were the slaves of Jews, and prohibiting the Jews from possessing such property for the time to come.[1] But Justinian soon went beyond this, and disqualified them from holding military and civil offices in the state; and greatly circumscribed their privileges in other respects.

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[1] Gibbon, Decline and Fall of Roman Empire, vol. vii. p. 219.

The Jews now looked toward the east, in the hope that some opportunity might present itself of still obtaining their political restoration, by means of the despots of those countries. In this expectation they offered their assistance to Chosroes I. of Persia, provided he would attack Jerusalem; but the fact being discovered, Justinian inflicted on them a severe punishment.

The Samaritans were likewise severely handled by Justinian; and may here be finally noticed. In the time of Hadrian, when the impostor Barchochebas arose, the Jews, for the first time, courted their alliance; but their offers being rejected, they became more exasperated against them than ever. The

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[1] The barbarian converts of the west were, at the instigation of their bishops, quickly induced to issue similar decrees. Letters are still extant from Pope Gregory to the kings of the Franks, in which he urges, that in permitting Christ's *members* to be trampled on by Jews, they were permitting Christ *himself* to be trampled on.

Samaritans nevertheless, at a later period, imbibed much of the Jewish zealotry against the Christians, and in the reign of Zeno broke into their church at Neapolis, (the ancient *Sichem* and the modern *Naplouse*,) and slew many whilst they were engaged in divine worship. For this they were expelled from that city; but afterwards permitted to settle there again.

In the present instance they were incited to revolt by a false Messiah named Julian, who every where attacked the Christians, and burned their churches. They were defeated however by the troops of Justinian with a loss of 20,000 in killed; an equal number was sold into slavery; and the subsequent severe enactments of the emperor induced the remainder for the most part to become Christians. For he prohibited them, as Samaritans, from inheriting and from bequeathing property; their testimony was rejected, not only against Christians, but even against Jews; and their synagogues were every where destroyed.[1] Thus was this people, who from the first were never independent, now almost annihilated. In later ages they were supposed altogether to have disappeared; but a small community of them has nevertheless been discovered still to exist, collected together again at Naplouse.[2]

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[1] Gibbon says of them, 'that they were a motley race, an ambiguous sect; rejected as Jews by the Pagans, by the Jews as schismatics, and by the Christians as idolaters.' (vol. viii. p. 323.)

[2] They were first discovered in the sixteenth century. The learned Scaliger at that time directed letters to them; but the answers did not arrive until 1589, at which time he was deceased. In 1761 they were visited by the Rev. Robert Huntingdon, Chaplain to the English Factory at Aleppo. In 1812 Baron Silvestre de Sacy wrote to them; but, in order to ascertain their real religious sentiments, unwarrantably feigned that he himself was of their nation. In 1820 Dr. Naudi and the Rev. W. Jowett, then at Malta, obtained further information concerning them from an Italian traveller, at which time they con-

Notwithstanding what the Jews suffered from the discovery of their proceeding with the king of Persia, they nevertheless, when Chosroes II. prepared to invade the empire, renewed their offers. These being accepted, they raised an army of 24,000 men; and whilst Chosroes himself advanced upon Constantinople, the Jews, under Carusia, his general, and a body of Persians, marched with their usual excitement to the conquest of Palestine. Jerusalem was captured; and the Jews once more found themselves masters of the sacred ground. But it did not inspire them with commensurate feelings of gratitude and mercy. For not satisfied with the excesses committed by themselves and their allies on the taking of the city, they bid the Persians a price for the prisoners, amounting to ninety thousand, and, having obtained possession of them, butchered the whole in cold blood. In conjunction with their brethren of Damascus, Tiberias, and other places, they next laid a plot for surprising Tyre; but were prevented by the vigilance of the inhabitants: and their triumph in Jerusalem was but of short duration; for the emperor Heraclius defeated Chosroes, and drove him back into his own territory; and having recovered Syria and expelled the Jews

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sisted of eighty families. Their manners are simple; they possess the Pentateuch in the ancient Samaritan character; they believe in a coming Messiah, whom they call *Hathab;* (התהב) they say their priest is descended from Levi; they have the figure of a *dove* on their sacred book, which has caused a report that they worship it; but this they deny, and consider it only an emblem of the Deity, in the same manner that Christians represent the Paraclete, or Comforter, by a dove. They used at their passover to sacrifice a sheep on Mount Gerizim, where they allege it can only lawfully be offered; but for the last forty years, having been prohibited from ascending the Mount, they offer it at Naplouse, which they consider within its limits. A reported sacrifice on Mount Ebal they disclaim. (See Annals of Voyages, published in Paris in 1812, No. 52; Jewish Expositor, vol. i. p. 88; Memoire sur les Samaritaines, par M. Silvestre de Sacy.)

from the holy city, he revived the decree of Hadrian, which prohibited their approach within three miles.

RISE OF MAHOMETANISM.

[A.D. 629—814.]—The rise, or rather the burst forth, of Mahometanism, in the year 629, as it greatly affected the religious circumstances of half the world, could not fail also to exercise a considerable influence upon the Jews.

Whilst the Romans and the Persians were contending for the mastery, this "king of fierce countenance" was quietly growing up in Arabia Felix.[1] In a district of it called Homerites the Jews had a settlement, in which they still enjoyed a comparative independence. Cut off by a dreary intervening desert from Palestine and the Greek and Roman settlements; flanked by inaccessible fastnesses and by the Red Sea; they were unknown to the rest of the world, and had here several strong castles and a prince over them. But the wrath of God pursued them even into this their hiding-place, and they were the first to suffer from Mahometan fanaticism. The early disciples of the false prophet seem to have expected, from the foundation of patriarchal history embodied in the Koran, that the Jews would have welcomed Mahomet; and they were therefore so much the more exasperated, when the Messiahship of their leader was denied, because he was not a Jew. They consequently determined to purify their own country first from the defiling contact of a contrary faith; and attacking them in their strong-holds, they captured their fortresses one after the other, putting the males to death and selling the women and children into slavery. Those of Fadai and Khaibar were the only exceptions, who obtained terms of capitulation, and were permitted to withdraw. Having thus cleared this region, and likewise reduced all Arabia, in an incredibly short space of time they over-ran great portion of Asia, Northern Africa, and the opposite coast of Spain; in all which parts Christianity shrank before their withering influence.

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[1] Mahomet was born in A.D. 569, preached at Mecca A.D. 609, was declared prince of Medina A.D. 622, and commenced the conquest of Arabia A.D. 629.

But having driven the Jews from Arabia, the Mahometans did not seek any further quarrel with them at present; and the former therefore now followed the victorious armies of the latter, as they had previously done those of the Goths and Vandals; supplied them with provisions, purchased their plunder, and once more became possessed of Christian captives.

In the year 693, the Spaniards, under pretence that the Jews were conspiring against the state, passed a decree, in which they confiscated their property, abolished their religion, reduced the adults to slavery, and determined to separate their children from them, and bring them up as Christians. The Jews however fled into Africa to the Moors, and speedily returned with their new masters to wreak a terrible vengeance on their old ones. Spain was conquered; after which the Jews were not only protected by the Mahometans but rewarded, and enjoyed in that country a golden season of prosperity.

A well-grounded apprehension, that they might direct the feet of their new patrons to all places where they were oppressed, caused those kingdoms which were not yet conquered by the Mahometans to relax in their severities. The Jews were permitted to enjoy a lucrative traffic, they filled offices of dignity, and became in several instances the confidential agents of princes.[1] To this advancement the superior learning and intelligence of the Jews greatly contributed; which formed during this period a striking contrast to the increasing neglect of education on the part of the Christians.[2] They likewise rendered themselves acceptable to the Greek emperors, when the crusade against images arose, by joining with the *Iconoclasts*;—a combination on the part of the Jews, which, though prompted by the same hostility to Jesus that had led them to unite with Pagans, Arians, Goths, and Mussulmen, had in this instance the accidental credit of being in accordance with the institutes of Moses, and directed against a foul excrescence which had grown up on Christianity.

THE DARK AGES.

The milder aspect which Popery and Mahometanism for awhile presented to the Jew might have led him to mistake their real genius: but no sooner were those revolutions completed which finally established and limited them, than the gleam of sunshine which the Jews had delighted in was overcast, and ages of misery and woe succeeded,[1] compared with which all that they had yet suffered, unparalleled as it was, proved but as "the beginning of sorrows!" They had yet to wring out and drink the dregs of the cup of trembling which the Lord had put into their hand. Popery in particular frowned upon them; which is the more remarkable, because the principles which constituted it were the counterpart of that rabbinism which had grown up in the Jewish church, and were indeed derived from it by the early Judaizing fathers: viz. an exaltation of human traditions over the verities of Scripture; a superstitious multiplication of ceremonies and of the forms of godliness, to the neglect of its power; and an intolerant and fanatical bigotry, which considered the expression of its hatred against those who differed from it, as the most decisive evidence of piety toward God. An opportunity will offer in the next chapter of tracing the resemblance more closely.

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[1] A Jew, named Isaac, was the cabinet minister of Charlemagne, and sent by him twice on confidential embassies to the Caliph Haroun Alraschid. Another, named Zedekiah, was the physician and adviser of Louis le Debonnaire, with whom he had sufficient influence to procure the alteration of markets, which fell on the Jewish sabbath, to some other day.

[2] Nathan, a learned Jew of Cordova of the 11th century, is said to have been followed by seven hundred chariots, containing his disciples. Aben Ezra, David Kimchi, Solomon Jarchi, and Moses Maimonides, all eminently learned men, flourished in the twelfth century. The latter is esteemed by many of the Jews to have been the prince of learned men, and the year of his death was called the *lamentum lamentabile.* (Buxtorf, Præf. in Moreh. Nev.) The more bigoted Talmudists however consider Isaac Abarbanel, a Spanish Jew of the 16th century, his superior; perhaps because he was a more determined enemy of Jesus, and his works not so free from the trammels of rabbinism.

The clergy of the Romish church, now ignorant, superstitious, and bigoted, had throughout regarded the prosperity of the Jews with jealousy; and those princes who had more decidedly favoured them had not escaped the imputation of infidelity. At length the representations and influence of the ecclesiastics prevailed, and to trample on the Jew came to be generally considered as an act of merit in the sight of God. They were again disqualified from military and civil offices; and were now not permitted to purchase or rent land, to act as stewards or bailiffs, or in any capacity which could give them the slightest authority over Christians. Not only was their testimony against Christians refused, but they were prohibited from maintaining suits at law against them. In the principal cities and towns they were confined to a particular district, in which they were commonly locked up at night; and they were degraded by some badge or article of dress to distinguish them from other citizens.[1] In Austria they were forbidden the use of the baths, and even of the inns, resorted to by Christians; and Christians were interdicted from social intercourse with them. In Portugal the name of Jew came to be so infamous, that the Christian who was called by it was permitted to stab the offender with impunity. At Thoulouse it became a custom to smite them on the face at Easter. But it remained for the Germans to affix the deepest stigma on them, and to degrade them to the level of cattle, causing them to pay toll for passing through the gates on their highways.[2] Nor was the dark spirit of superstition then prevailing satisfied with having thus rendered Israel *a proverb, a byword, a taunt, a reproach, a curse,* as had been foretold of them:[1] it was also predicted that the heaven over their head should become as brass, and the earth under their feet as iron;[2] signifying that the powers which ruled over them and the people among whom they sojourned, should be rigorous and persecuting: and accordingly we find them, in this same period, buffeted, robbed, despoiled, exiled, slaughtered, both by their governors and fellow subjects. But a separate notice of their treatment in the principal countries of Papal Europe, during this season of darkness, will best enable the reader to understand their actual condition.

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[1] The ninth and two following centuries are commonly accounted the *dark* ages, from the ignorance which then prevailed; but if we regard the reign of bigotry and superstition, we must extend the period down to the era of the Reformation, comprehending at least *seven centuries*.

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[1] In France it was a piece of blue cloth on the front and back of their garment, called the *rouelle;* in England it was two stripes of white cloth or of parchment, called *cables.* (See Observations on the Statutes, p. 180.) At Vienna it was a pointed cap; and by the orders of Pope Innocent III. all the Papal States were obliged to adopt some such mark.

[2] Toll tables are still to be found in that country, on which is inscribed, "For a horse 2 kreutzers, a pig 2 kreutzers, a Jew 1 kreutzer," &c. (See Hirschfield's Strictures on the Jews, p. 88.)

GERMANY.—In regard to Germany, it is sufficient to mention the *Crusades*, which, though the cause of great suffering to the Jews in most countries, were especially so in this; where also the example was first set of making them an occasion of persecution to Israel. For when, at the latter end of the eleventh century, the first body of crusaders was preparing to depart for the Holy Land, and was assembled near Treves, it was suggested by some of them that they were about to leave as great enemies of Christ behind them, as any whom they were likely to find in Palestine; upon which they rushed to the city, massacred all the Jews they could reach, and pillaged their houses. Similar scenes ensued at Metz, Cologne, Worms, Spires, and in various other towns of the Moselle and Rhine, the Maine and Danube. Many Jewish women on these occasions, in order to save themselves from violation, fastened stones to their bodies and plunged into the rivers; whilst Jewish parents slew their children to save them from baptism and abuse. After this precedent, it became the usual practice, in the several crusades which followed in the two succeeding centuries, for the warriors, before they set out, to whet their courage and prove their weapons upon Jewish victims. Nor did this persecution cease on the arrival of the crusaders in Palestine, where Israel was constantly hunted down; it being considered equally meritorious to kill a Jew as a Saracen.[1]

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[1] Deut. xxviii. 37; Jer. xxiv. 8, 9; Ezek. v. 13—15.

[2] Deut. xxviii. 23.

In the fourteenth century a body of fanatics of a different order passed through the cities of Germany, inflicting voluntary flagellation on themselves as an atonement for the sins of the country, from which circumstance they were called *Flagellants.* A large crucifix was borne before them, and the blood which flowed from their naked and lacerated backs afforded evidence that there was no imposture. But superstition again aimed its shaft at the unpitied Jew; and the wondering multitude were easily induced to believe, that their sins would be still more fully atoned for by the sacrifice of the enemies of Christ. They therefore again rose upon the Jews, and in the cities of Silesia, Poland, Lithuania, Brandenburg, Bohemia, and other parts of Germany, the same tragedies were performed as in the times of the crusaders.

SPAIN.—In those parts of Spain possessed by the Moors, the Jews enjoyed a longer period of quiet; with the exception of one serious persecution in the middle of the eleventh century, arising from their own indiscretion, in attempting to convert their Mahomedan protectors. The disciples of the false prophet were immediately aroused, and in the first paroxysm of their indignation they hanged all the Jewish teachers, plundered fifteen hundred of the wealthiest families, each vying with the grandees in opulence, and put to death many others.

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[1] The extent to which they were slaughtered in the East during the first crusade may be judged by the fact, that Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew who visited Palestine in the interval between the first and second crusades, states in his Journal, that he only found 50 Jews at Tiberias, and about 400 at Tyre; at both which places they had previously abounded. Mr. Gibbon considers "that they had not felt a more bloody stroke since the persecution of Hadrian."—(Decline and Fall of Rom. Emp. vol. ix. p. 26.)

In other parts however of Spain they were grievously oppressed throughout the dark ages; and in the provinces of Arragon and Castile, during the thirteenth and two following centuries, they suffered dreadful calamities. Four times a persecution was raised against them at Toledo alone; in regard to one of which, commenced by the bishop and terminated by the crusaders, Abarbanel declares, that more Jews were driven by it from Spain than left Egypt under Moses.

At length in 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella, having put a final termination to the dominion of the Moors in Spain, whose power had been gradually weakened for some time previous, resolved also to expel the Jews; who were all ordered to quit the realm within a limited period, on pain of death, unless they submitted to baptism. For the most part they preferred banishment; and an immense multitude, varying according to different writers from 300,000 to 800,000, prepared to depart. They were not permitted to carry with them any gold or silver; and their other property was so depreciated by the glut of it thrown into the market, and the compulsory circumstances of sale, that a house was given for a mule and a vineyard for a piece of linen. The miseries which they next endured, in endeavouring to reach some place of refuge, are calculated to excite both horror and indignation, when it is considered that they were inflicted upon them by a miscalled Christianity. In some of the vessels in which they embarked, they were first carried out to sea and plundered of what they still possessed, and the vessels were then scuttled with their unhappy freight on board. In others, after being robbed in like manner, their lives were spared only for their persons to be sold into captivity on the opposite shores, or to be landed on a desert coast and abandoned. A large multitude of them offered a considerable portion of their remaining effects to the king of Portugal for liberty of transit through his dominions; but it was only turning from one oppressor to another; "as if," according to their prophet, "a man did flee from a lion and a bear met him."[1] The king of Portugal granted their request, but under various pretences delayed the embarkation of the first bands that arrived, until he had the entire number of applicants within his territory; when he perfidiously seized and condemned them to slavery, unless they submitted to baptism. The children under fourteen years of age were at once separated from their parents and baptized; upon which many Jews, on condition of having their children restored to them, conformed to Christianity; but others, preferring death, first slew their children and then themselves.[2] Those who received baptism only deferred their fate; for they were all soon after set upon and butchered, because some of the number had been seen to smile at a pretended miracle. Those who succeeded in getting away from the ports of Spain, after having endured unparalleled cruelties from the Moors of Africa, found shelter at length in Constantinople, where, though despised, they have ever since been permitted to reside.

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[1] Amos v. 19.

[2] Murphy's Portugal, p. 695.

ENGLAND.—A massacre of the Jews of London, which occurred at the coronation of our first Richard, was considered by his subjects to have cast a lustre, instead of an indelible stigma, upon the commencement of his reign.[1] The flame of this persecution spread through the kingdom, and similar massacres ensued in other places. In the city of York, the Jews, in order to avoid the storm, took refuge in the castle; where a tragedy ensued similar to that which was enacted at the taking of Massada. For the Jews, having reason to suspect the integrity of the governor, took advantage of his temporary absence, and closed the gates of the castle, of which they maintained possession. The populace rushed to attack them, headed by one of the residentiary canons, who continued to vociferate, "Destroy the enemies of Jesus," until he was killed by a stone from the besieged.[2] The provisions however of the Jews failing, they came to the resolution of destroying each other, with the exception of a small minority who were permitted to retire to the walls. They first set fire to the castle, next put their wives and children to death, and then cut the throats of each other; the rabbi, who was the last, resolutely destroying himself. At day-break the people beheld the flames bursting forth from the castle, and, hastening to the walls, saw only the miserable remnant who had feared to die, and who, with uplifted hands offered to submit to baptism. The terms were accepted and the gates were opened; but a multitude has no faith, and the populace rushing in, put them all to the sword.[1]

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[1] Hume and Smollet's Hist. Eng.

[2] Curiosities of Literature, vol. ii. p. 427.

The *princes*, however, of England became more conspicuous for extorting money from the Jews, than for shedding their blood. John, the successor of Richard, at first caressed them, and granted them many privileges; but it was only to inveigle them into his dominions, for the purpose of afterwards plundering them. When the time arrived for throwing off the mask, he seized and imprisoned them, confiscated their property, and put them to the torture, to discover where their property was concealed. By this treachery he is said to have acquired sixty thousand marks,—a vast sum in those days. Henry III. afterwards extorted from them more than double that sum; and then sold them to his brother Richard, with full liberty to plunder them as he pleased.[2]

Edward I. in like manner played the extortioner, and then, having impoverished them to the utmost, he, in the year 1290, obtained the inglorious distinction of being the first who expelled them altogether from his dominions. These, to the number of 15,000, were first robbed, by those who conducted them to the seaports, of the pittance left them to pay their charges, and then, for the most part, thrown into the waves by the sailors and drowned.[4]

FRANCE.—The French princes pursued the like system of plundering the Jews. Philip Augustus confiscated all debts due to them, and compelled them to surrender all the pledges into the royal treasury. At another time he surrounded them in their synagogues and detained them, until his officers had pillaged their houses; after which he commanded them instantly to quit the kingdom.

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[1] A place in York, called *Jew-bury*, still points out the spot where their remains were interred.

[2] Matt. Paris Hist. Eng.; Adams's Hist. of the Jews; Basnage, p. 678. Henry's reign was likewise stained by a massacre of 500 Jews in London, which massacre was promoted by the mayor.—Chron. T. Wykes, p. 59.

[3] Tovey's Anglia Judaica.

[4] Walsingham's Hist. on Chron. p. 54.

In the reigns of Louis VIII. and Louis IX. the Jews having returned, the same exactions were repeated; though the circumstance that they could have any amount of property to be plundered of, after having so frequently been impoverished, shews how rapidly, by means of usury and other practices, they must have been enabled to acquire wealth.[1] But the Jews also suffered other grievances in these reigns: in the former they were declared the property of the lords of the manors on which they happened to reside; in the latter they were forbidden the process of arrest or seizure of goods for debt.[2]

But the event most seriously affecting the Jews, in the reign of Louis IX. was the rising of the *Pastoreaux*, or shepherds, which occurred A.D. 1317. The king was at this time made prisoner by the Saracens; and by a perversion of the prophecy of Micah v. 5, a monk led the shepherds to believe that they were divinely appointed to deliver the holy sepulchre from infidels, and to rescue their monarch from captivity. They were led on by a priest with a white cross; and wheresoever they appeared the peasantry forsook their customary pursuits and joined them. But, like the Crusaders and Flagellants, they also fell upon the Jews, who were allowed no alternative but baptism or death. Nor did the persecution terminate here. The desertion of the fields by the rural population caused a famine in the following year, and that a pestilence; on which rumours were circulated that the rivers and fountains had been poisoned. Whenever a culprit was wanted, on whom to fix an accusation, the Jew was sure to be selected; and it was scarcely possible for excitement to exist from any cause among the people, but it finished by an attack on this unhappy race.[1] They were therefore again assailed as the presumed authors of the national calamity; and in many provinces numbers were seized and burned.

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[1] Philip Augustus, for the protection of the borrowers, had fixed the usury which the Jews were permitted to take at two *deniers* on the *livre* weekly, or about 50 per cent. At a later period they were allowed to take four *deniers* the *livre*, about 100 per cent. How much more must it have been, when left, without any regulation, to the natural avarice of the human heart!

[2] The Court of Assize in Brittany determined in this reign not to receive evidence against those who might kill a Jew; thus directly encouraging their murder. And in the next century the clergy of Languedoc excommunicated those who supplied a Jew with *fire, water, bread,* or *wine!* There were however, throughout, some honourable exceptions among the clergy to this spirit of bigotry and intolerance.

Philip IV. again expelled the Jews, having first seized their goods, confiscated their debts, and converted their synagogues into churches. Louis X. on account of the state of his exchequer, permitted them to return for twelve years. Charles VI. a third time banished them; but under the regent of the kingdom, in the time of John, they negotiated and obtained for money another term of settlement for twenty years; and were finally exiled for a considerable period under Charles IV. though he was moderate enough to permit them first to get in their debts, and dispose of their property.

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[1] In Germany, in the 13th century, Frederick II. protected the Jews, and caused the popular rumours against them of their murdering children on the passover, crucifying boys, &c., to be rigidly investigated, and proved them to be groundless; but he was in consequence suspected of not being sound in the faith.

The remarkable circumstance is, that the Jews should desire to re-enter kingdoms at all, in which they had experienced so much perfidy and persecution: but, alas, poor Jew! whither was he to betake him? All other kingdoms were now become as inhospitably barred against him! The time was come when, according to their prophets, "all that found them devoured them, and said, We offend not, because they have sinned against the Lord, the habitation of justice,—even the Lord, the hope of their fathers." (Jer. i. 7.)

EASTERN COUNTRIES.—The east had become equally closed against them. The causes of their being now persecuted by the Mahommedan powers are not so obvious; but the fact itself is beyond dispute. Some attribute it to their having frequently intermeddled with the political struggles of those powers; others to the excitement so frequently created by their false prophets and Messiahs. For both these inferences there is a foundation;[1] and they were undoubtedly among those second causes permitted of God, in order to accomplish his wrath upon the entire people.

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[1] False Messiahs were so numerous throughout the middle and dark ages, that no less than ten arose in France, Spain, Moravia, and Persia, in the 12th century alone; some of whom were the means of involving the Jews in great calamities. False prophets, predicting the time of Messiah's coming, were equally frequent; till at length the Persian Shah Abbas, in the 16th century, ordered the Rabbins to fix a time within which the Messiah should certainly come; threatening them with extermination in case of failure. The Rabbins discreetly named *seventy years*, concluding that would exceed the term of the Shah's life; but 150 years afterwards a successor of the Shah was reminded of this treaty, and a persecution of the Jews followed in his dominions, which continued for three years. (Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xiii.)

The reader may be spared, after having had so much of massacre and pillage brought before him, a particular recital of all the instances in which the Jews of the East suffered like calamities. Let it suffice, that after having endured various afflictions in those parts, they were, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, visited by the caliphs with a persecution, which terminated with the final suppression of their schools, and the public execution of their Resch Glutha or prince of the captivity. Since this period they have been treated with great tyranny and caprice in all the Mahommedan states. The sultan Motovakel had indeed forbidden them to wear certain articles of apparel of the same material as " the faithful," and further degraded them by a distinctive badge, before the Christians proceeded to do so; and his example was followed in other countries.[1]

In addition to their treatment by Mahommedans and Papists, it may be mentioned that Benjamin of Tudela likewise found the Jews in the twelfth century greatly reduced by persecution in the dominions of the Greek emperors, where they were still oppressed and insulted.[2] Some page indeed of the history of almost every nation is stained with Jewish blood.

In this manner has it pleased HIM, who is nevertheless the God and Father of Israel, to humble his people in the sight of the Gentile world, by a series of judgments unparalleled for their severity and long continuance. They have at length been brought to that pass, that they truly "have no power to stand against their enemies; but pine away in the iniquity of their fathers and in their own iniquity in their enemies' lands:"[1] and they have exhibited most exactly that picture of political prostration described by Isaiah in the latter part of the following passage: "Behold, I have taken out of thine hand the cup of trembling, even the dregs of the cup of my fury;—thou shalt no more drink it again: but I will put it into the hand of them that afflict thee; which have said to thy soul, *Bow down, that we may go over.* AND THOU HAST LAID THY BODY AS THE GROUND, AND AS THE STREET TO THEM THAT WENT OVER!"[2]

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[1] The Sultan's decree was in A.D. 847. In Constantinople the badge is a blue slipper; in the empire of Morocco it is a black slipper.

[2] The *Itinerarium* of Benjamin is but little to be depended on, when he describes places which he never visited, and events which he gleaned only from the report of others: for he appears to have been credulous, in regard to all that was related to him, however absurd. There is no ground however for mistrusting him when he relates what he actually saw and investigated himself.

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[1] Lev. xxvi. 37—40.

[2] Isaiah li. 22, 23.

CHAPTER XIII.

PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE JEWS.

THE prophecy which concluded the last chapter clearly intimates, as many other scriptures do, that a period of fearful retribution is coming upon the nations; who have provoked it by ages of apostacy and wickedness, in which they have persisted, notwithstanding the signal chastisements which have at times been brought upon them. God has indeed frequently given the nations an earnest of his wrath, and of his jealousy for Israel, even in the period just reviewed, when they have wantonly trampled upon or abused his people. It would not be difficult to shew, that in those awful and extensive massacres perpetrated by the Jews in Egypt, Cyrene, and other places, the victims of them had provoked the vengeance of God by their profligate conduct toward Israel: but in some instances the act of retribution has been more manifest. As the first persecution of the Jews, for example, in Spain and Portugal was immediately followed by the invasion of those countries by the Moors; under such circumstances as brought conviction home to the other kingdoms of Europe, and deterred them for awhile from persisting in their tyranny; so, after their final expulsion from Spain, that country became so impoverished, that it bitterly regretted the measure; and from that period indeed has been dated the decline of its power and grandeur. That army of crusaders, which in Germany first raised the cry of persecution, lost three hundred thousand men by successive disasters, before they had taken a single city; and the next band which followed, composed of warriors of superior rank, found, upon reviewing the troops before Antioch, the number of sixty thousand horses, with which they had set forth, reduced to two thousand.[1] Not only was the attack upon the Jews by the Pastoreaux followed by famine and pestilence, but also their banishment by Charles IV, which produced an extensive mortality. Both in France and England the clamour against the Jews was often raised by their debtors, who hoped thereby to escape from payment; but they as often suffered for their dishonesty: debts though confiscated were not remitted; the crown proved a more potent and inexorable creditor than the Jew; and whilst the latter frequently dared not move proceedings, but suffered bonds and pledges to slumber quietly in his chest; the former promptly exacted the uttermost farthing;—sometimes even giving a portion of what might be recovered to the Jews, in order to induce them to verify the full amount of their debts.[2] Nor did the Jews fail to notice the personal misfortunes and humiliations which overtook their great persecutors, Richard and John of England, and Louis IX. of France.

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[1] Gibbon, vol. xi. p. 26.

[2] Abbé Gregoire on the Reformation of the Jews, p. 28.

The instances, however, just related are but as the drops which precede the storm of that day of gloominess and thick darkness which is to overtake the Gentiles, when the cup of trembling shall be put into their hand. But as we have seen that times of revival were vouchsafed to *Israel,* previous to great judgments overtaking them, so the Protestant Reformation, and the seasons of refreshment which have followed, appear to be similar visitations of mercy in behalf of the *Gentiles;* by means of which God is more speedily accomplishing the number of his elect from among them, whilst he leaves the mass to fill up the measure of their iniquity, and to bring on themselves wrath to the uttermost. And it is specially worthy of remark, in this view of the subject, that along with the reformation there have privily grown up mischievous and deadly principles of anarchy and infidelity, which have already produced their first fruits, and convulsed the world by the revolution of 1792; and which are now so manifestly preparing for another and still more terrible explosion, that men's hearts begin to fail them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth.[1] Our present business, however, is more immediately to notice the influence which these events have had upon the Jews of the dispersion.

The light which burst in upon Europe, at the period of the reformation, gradually brought back the Protestants to those principles, which, in the primitive ages of Christianity, had taught the disciples of Jesus to exercise pity and forbearance toward Israel, and to consider themselves debtors for the immense blessings which they had indirectly received through their fall, and more directly from those devoted men who were the first Jewish converts to Christianity. The Reformers however did little for the Jews beyond writing favourably in their behalf: their own affairs absorbed their attention, and the welfare of Israel was imperceptibly lost sight of.[1] Neither is the removal of inveterate prejudices the work of a day: wherefore among the unenlightened mass, even in Protestant countries, ancient antipathies prevented them from seeing any thing in the Jews besides those characteristics which their own oppression of them had chiefly produced, and from recollecting any thing of their earlier history, except their bitterness against Christ and his followers. Even in England, so renowned for the part it took in the reformation, though the Jews were allowed quietly to return into the country, it excited a considerable ferment when, at a later period, it was proposed to remove some of their political disabilities.[2]

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[1] See a "Brief Sketch of the Rise and Progress of Antichristian Infidelity," in vol. ii. p. 215 of Mr. Faber's *Sacred Calendar of Prophecy.*

A period of lethargy and of comparative gloom succeeded in the Protestant kingdoms to the first spread and establishment of the reformation, during which the Jews were still neglected; nor was it until about the era of the French revolution that their political emancipation may be said to have commenced. Though the principles which produced that revolution manifestly tended to promote a spirit of indifference, in regard to all strictly religious considerations; yet the heavy blows which they inflicted upon the idol reared up by bigotry and intolerance, have nevertheless been overruled by Providence for good. At first, indeed, the spread of the revolutionary doctrines operated unfavourably upon the Jews. The great infidels of the day could not but regard Israel as living witnesses against their own atheistical sentiments; and when they found the Jews not to be coaxed or shaken from their principles, mingled contempt and scorn was poured upon them;[1] whilst Frederick of Prussia enacted against them severe decrees. But when it was perceived that the emancipation of the Jews would be another step gained toward removing the formidable barriers, which the ancient institutions and prejudices of Europe opposed to the levelling doctrines, many began to urge their alleged political rights. In the year 1780 the emperor Joseph II. who has been considered the harbinger of the French revolution, first ameliorated their condition; which step was followed in France, in 1784 and 1788, by some relaxation of the laws against them in that country. In 1791 they were granted equal rights with French citizens; and a similar decree was published in Holland in 1796. In 1806

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[1] There were however numerous instances of conversion from among the Jews, arising from the attention drawn to the nature of real Christianity by the proceedings of the Reformers. Among the more eminent was Rabbi Elias Levita, commonly called the *Grammarian*, with thirty of his followers; Paul Riccius, who was of the court of the emperor Maximilian; Johannes Isaac, afterwards professor of divinity at Cologne; Emmanuel Tremellius, well known as the translator of the Scriptures, and the famous Cabbalist, Meir. (Alsted. Chron. and Jewish Exp. 1816, p. 425.)

[2] The first application of the Jews for re-admission was in Cromwell's time; the discussions raised by which may be found at large in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vii. p. 578. Their return however was only connived at till the restoration of Charles II. In 1753 a bill passed, naturalizing all Jews who had dwelt three years in England; but the clamour against it was so great, that it was immediately repealed. (See the 26th Geo. II. cap. 26, and the 27th Geo. II. cap. 1.)

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[1] See Voltaire's Correspondence with the Jews, and subsequent mention of them; also "Lettres de quelques Juifs Portugais, &c. à M. de Voltaire."

Napoleon endeavoured to win the Jews to his interests, by convening in Paris a great Sanhedrim, the decisions of which he intended should be imperative on their brethren throughout the world.[1] A few Jews, who had lapsed from their own principles, applauded the scheme; but the generality suspected his designs, and the attempt consequently proved abortive. Nevertheless these movements have had the effect of awakening the attention of the continental princes to the condition of the Jews; some of whom have cheerfully interfered in their behalf, being prompted by an enlightened policy; and others have been impelled by the current of the times to adopt more liberal measures.

The bearing, however, of the laws which have been enacted in different states will be better understood, if we first briefly review the religious and moral condition of the European Jews, which has undergone little change from the period of their emerging out of the dark ages down into the present century.

The Jews cannot boast of religious unity, any more than Christians; but are divided into sects, principally distinguished by their zeal for the traditions, or by their rejection of them.

I. Rabbinism chiefly prevails, and continues to be conspicuous, as in the days of Christ, for "binding men with burdens grievous to be borne;" of which a description of the ceremonies of daily *purification* will serve as an illustration.

The Jew is bound to rise early on all days; but progressively earlier as he approaches the *Sabbath*, on which day he rises the earliest of all. His first duty on awaking is to thank God for *restoring to him his soul;* which he is taught to believe quits the body during sleep, and may not find its way back to its proper tenement. But as he must not mention the name of GOD with unwashen hands, a special form of thanksgiving is appointed for this occasion, in which he is only styled "*the self-existing King.*" He next has to put on his clothes, after a form minutely prescribed; and then he hastens to wash: for he further believes that an *evil* spirit took possession of his body during the absence of his soul, which will not depart till after the proper lustrations: to go four yards with unwashen hands is even declared to be worthy of death. He is therefore directed immediately to seize with his right hand the ewer previously placed near to him, to pour water from it into the left hand, and from thence on to the right hand thrice; and afterwards, reversing the order, to proceed in like manner with the left hand. The mouth must be rinsed before he pronounces the name of GOD, great care being taken that a single drop does not escape into the throat. Numerous cautions are added against spilling the water, and an improper disposal of the refuse; and many nice questions are discussed, as to whether a man is bound to wash his hands before naming God, who has watched all night, or who has not been able to sleep, or who rises before day, or who sleeps during the day. If water, however, cannot be readily procured, the Jew may then rub his hands in the dust or on the earth; which is considered sufficient to entitle him to name God, though it will not drive out the evil spirit! Next the face must be washed, because it is the image of God; after which every part of the dress must be put on, with the same careful attention to rules, and with the dread of incurring punishment from God if they are neglected. In like manner there are burdensome precepts for various other duties and seasons of the day.[1]

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[1] Address of M. Mole, 18 Sep. 1806.

The rabbins profess that they themselves practise a more rigorous observance of the traditions than their disciples. Each one boasts that he keeps 613 commandments; some of which are not destitute of excellence, in regard to the worship of the heart; but they are more than neutralized by the superior merit inculcated of observing the ceremonials,[2] which, as in the particulars just instanced concerning purification, are trivial and absurd, keeping the spirit of the Jew in continual bondage, and exerting a pernicious influence upon his understanding.[3]

The tendency of rabbinism to degrade the female mind is still greater. Women are considered unfit to give legal evidence, being classed with slaves, children and idiots; they are not deemed sufficient to form a congregation for worship without men, and are only required to observe those of the commands which relate to ablutions or dress, the sabbaths, fasts and festivals, and the preparation and cooking of food. The rest of the law is indeed strictly forbidden to them; insomuch that he who instructs his daughter therein is declared to teach her transgression;[1] whilst the only books which they are permitted to read are of the most puerile and ridiculous character.[2]

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[1] Treatise *Shulchan Arach.*

[2] In the treatise *Sepher Lov Tov* we have the reverse of St. James's maxim, "that he who keepeth the whole law, and yet transgresseth in one point is guilty of all:" therein it is declared, "that he who keeps the Sabbath aright has as much merit as if he kept the whole law."

[3] Dr. Wolff says "that he never met with a Jew versed in the Talmud, who could think *straight,* as other men do."

The resemblance of Rabbinism to Popery has already been alluded to, (page 502,) but it requires to be further pointed out in its particulars: for considering the antipathy of Jews to Roman Catholics more especially,—who are, on account of their worship of images, the great stumbling-block in the way of the Jews receiving Christ,—the similarity of the two systems, in other respects, is the more remarkable.

1. Like as in Popery, the holy scriptures are professedly acknowledged by the Jews as the word of God, and the foundation of their faith; but the study of them is prevented by the greater prominence and encouragement given to tradition. The rabbins teach, "that to study the Bible can scarcely be deemed a virtue; to study the Mishna (or Oral law) is a virtue that will certainly be rewarded; but to study the Gemara (or Commentators) is a virtue never to be surpassed."[3]

2. They believe that the verdict of rabbins of integrity assembled in council is *infallible*.

3. The Talmud still commands the conversion of the heathen by force, and pronounces death against

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[1] Hilchoth Eduth. cap. ix. and Orach Chaiim, sect. 55.

[2] Dr. McCaul informs us that the favourite Sabbath reading among the Jewish women is Rabbi Jacob's Commentary on the Pentateuch, &c. called also "the Women's Pentateuch," which he describes as a compilation of all that is marvellous and absurd; insomuch that if the Biblical citations were omitted, it might be classed with *Tom Thumb* or *Jack the Giant Killer*. As it stands, (he observes,) it appears to the Christian reader the most inconceivable mixture of absurdity and gravity." (Sketches of Judaism and the Jews.)

[3] Dr. McCaul's Sketches, &c.

the recusants; though in their reformed catechisms they endeavour, (like the Romanists,) by means of ambiguous expressions and sophistical statements, to conceal that they still hold persecuting sentiments.[1]

4. Judaism asserts the efficacy of good works toward procuring salvation; as might be expected from what has been adduced on the virtue of studying the Gemara. And with a marvellous inconsistency, though the reading of the law is scarcely deemed a virtue, yet the taking out of the Pentateuch, on the days on which it is appointed to be read, is considered so meritorious a work, that the privilege of performing it is sold in some places to the highest bidder. To stand on the left hand of the reader during the lection, and to close and remove the book after it is read, are likewise considered meritorious acts, and the permission to perform them is sold separately.[2] Great merit is also attached to fasting and almsgiving; and where they have the power they punish those who do not contribute to the general collections for the poor.

5. They plead the merits of saints: the Jew those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the Jewess those of Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah, with other inferior saints.[3]

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[1] McCaul's Sketches, p. 134; Milcoth M'Cachim, cap. viii. s. 10.—They greatly despise all other nations; insomuch that when compelled to use the phrase "Jews and Gentiles," the more bigotted introduce a redundant word after *and* (generally לחוץ which signifies *to divide*) in order, as they say, that the profane may not be brought too near the holy. They deny salvation to Christians and Mahomedans, because they consider them to be destroyers of the law; but pagans, who have observed the seven precepts of Noah, they think *may* be saved with an inferior salvation.

[2] Ewald's Journal, Jewish Intelligencer, 1838, p. 155.

[3] In the Jewish year of the world 5316, twenty-four Spanish Jews, fugitives to Italy, were condemned for holding Hebrew worship, then interdicted in Spain, and were publicly burnt. A lamentation com-

6. They further attribute great merit to pilgrimages to the Holy Land, believing that every pilgrim receives remission of his sins.[1]

7. They believe in a *purgatory;* and whilst they assert that every Israelite has a part in the world to come, they think that the wicked are first purified from their sins in the infernal regions.[2]

8. They use prayers for the dead; a principal part of the meritorious duties of females being to visit the cemeteries, and pray over the graves.[3]

9. The generality of the Jews likewise pray in an unknown tongue. For though their liturgy is written in Hebrew, many cannot read it; and a greater number, who read Hebrew with fluency, do not understand its meaning.[4]

The Jewish Liturgy, like the Romish, contains much scripture, and is often very beautiful;[5] but

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posed by a contemporary rabbi still exists, and the following is a prayer still used by the Jews:—"Grant that for the merits of these holy martyrs, and for the merits of our three holy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the tears we pour forth, that the holy temple may be rebuilt in our days." (Jewish Expositor, 1828. p. 415.)

[1] Jew. Intel. 1836, p. 60.—The Jews consider all who die and are buried in the holy land sure of eternal life, and that there will be no resurrection for such as are buried elsewhere; though they allow a way of escape for the just, whose bodies are supposed to be rolled through subterranean passages, until they arrive in the valley of Jehoshaphat. It is likewise remarkable, that as the Jews believe that the worms are not allowed to touch the bodies of those buried in Palestine; so the Roman Catholics of Pisa, in order to prevent the worms, have filled the Campo Santo with earth brought from Jerusalem as ballast in their galleys; and assert that it has the effect of reducing a fresh corpse to a skeleton in twenty-four hours. (Wright's Travels, p. 383.)

[2] Customs, &c. of the Jews; by Hyam Isaacs, p. 255.

[3] Ibid. p. 10. McCaul's Sketches, p. 106; and Modern Judaism, p. 181, in which are many specimens of their prayers. Their common phrase also concerning a departed person is—May his soul rest in peace!

[4] O'Neill's Journal; Jewish Expositor 1827; and Hyam Isaac's Customs, &c. p. 253.

[5] Much of it is translated into English in Hyam Isaac's "Ceremonies, Customs, &c. of the Jews."

they also have many absurdities intermingled. The following extract from the Prayers for the New Year, used in the London synagogues, will afford a specimen: "O deign to hear the voice of those who glorify Thee with all their members, according to the number of the 248 affirmative precepts. In this month they blow thirty sounds, according to the thirty members of the soles of their feet. The additional offerings of the day are ten, according to the ten members in their ankles. They approach the altar twice, according to their two legs. Five men are called to the law, according to the five joints in their knees. Lo! with the additional offering of the new moon they are eleven, according to their eleven ribs. They pour out their supplication with nine blessings, according to the muscles in their arms. These contain thirty verses, according to the thirty in the palms of their hands. They daily repeat the prayer of eighteen blessings, according to the eighteen vertebræ in their spine. At the offering of the continual sacrifice they sound nine times, according to the nine muscles in their head. In the two orisons they blow eight times, according to the eight vertebræ of their neck. Their statutes and laws are contained in five books, according to the five perforations. He hath ordained the six orders of the Mishna, according to the six different imaginations of the heart and inward parts: also the animal life, spirit, rational soul, perception, appetite, the skin, flesh, veins, and bones,—these shall all lift up the eye, and pierce the ear, and open the mouth, that with the tongue and speech of their lips, and from the sole of the foot to the head, they may show the particulars of their good acts; so that, when the sound of the cornet ascends, their adversaries may be ashamed, and that they may be justified in the day of judgment, and hear the second time from their God."[1]

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[1] The reader may perhaps be disposed to question if the above can be paralleled in *Popery;* let him then peruse the following extract from Picart's Religious Ceremonies and Explanations of the Mass. "The priest goes to the altar; in reference to our Lord's retreat with his apostles to the garden of Olivet. Before he begins mass, he says a preparatory prayer; he is there to look upon himself as one abandoned of God and driven out of paradise for the sin of Adam. The priest kisses the altar; as a token of our reconciliation with God, and of our Lord's being betrayed with a kiss. The priest goes to the epistle side of the altar, and thurifies or perfumes it with incense: Jesus Christ is now supposed to be taken and bound. The *Introite* is sung;—applicable to the circumstance of our Lord's being taken before Caiaphas. The priest says the *Kyrie Eleison;* in allusion to Peter's denying our Lord thrice. The priest turns to the altar and says, *Dominus vobiscum;* the people return the salutation by *Et cum Spiritu tuo;* this means Christ looking at Peter. The priest, bowing before the altar, says, *Munda Cor;* and the devotion is directed to our Saviour's being brought before Pilate and making no reply. The priest reads the gospel, &c. The gospel is carried from the right of the altar to the left, to denote the tender of the Gospel to the Gentiles, after the refusal of the Jews. The priest uncovers the chalice: this means the stripping of our Lord, in order to be scourged. The priest kisses the altar and offers up the host; to represent the scourging of Christ. The priest elevates the chalice, then covers it; this means the crowning with thorns, &c." Thus it continues to the number of thirty-five particulars! A different explanation is given in the "Key to heaven," another Roman Catholic treatise: but just as absurd.

One of the Jewish ceremonies, however, used on the day of atonement, (or the "*White Fast,*" as the Jews call it,) is remarkable for its significance. In some places each Jew brings a white cock, if procurable, and the women each a hen, and after declaring that it is a ransom in their stead, he who holds it kills the animal. He first draws together the skin of its throat, and thinks within himself that he is worthy to be strangled; he next opens the windpipe with a knife, to signify that he himself is worthy to die by the sword; he throws it violently on the ground to denote that he himself deserves to be stoned; and finally he roasts it to shew that he considers himself deserving of the flames. (Buxtorff, Syn. Jud. c. xx.) The Jews likewise assign a remarkable reason for using the cock in this instance—viz. that the substitute who suffers must be of the same nature as the being who sins. If man therefore sins, a man must suffer: but גבר *Gebher* signifies a *man,* and in the Babylonian dialect also a *cock;* and thus the rabbins say, "*Gebher* sinned and *Gebher* suffers."

II. Next are the fanatical sects of the Jews, which are variously termed, Chasidim, Zoharites, Frenkists, Sabbathaists, Subsaids, Schabzels, &c, concerning which the testimony is conflicting, and the distinction between them difficult to be made out. Perhaps all have originally derived their opinions from the ancient Chasidim and Cabalists, with some admixture of the principles of the Essenes. Generally they are the followers of one Sabbathai Sævi, the most remarkable of all the impostors that have arisen among the Jews.

He was born at Smyrna, in 1625, and so early distinguished himself by his austerities and progress in the study of Cabbala, that at the age of eighteen he was made rabbi. He soon after declared himself to be the expected son of David, and repaired to Jerusalem; but made few disciples until some years after, when, on his return to Smyrna, a wealthy Jew, having denounced him on the exchange as an impostor, went home and dropped down dead. This was interpreted by the followers of Sævi as a testimony from God; and it excited so great a sensation among the Jews, that many even of the rabbins now declared themselves to be convinced. Sævi was soon after visited by deputations from the Jews in every quarter of the globe, bearing costly offerings; whilst the youth of both sexes were seized in various places with holy transports or rhapsodies, and prophesied concerning him,—some in Hebrew, who, it is said, had never learned it. One Nathan Benjamin had given out that Sævi would presently take the diadem from the head of the grand seignor; and, at the instance of his eager partisans, he accordingly visited Constantinople, where he was cordially welcomed by the Jews, and, after many singular proceedings, was at length seized and led into the presence of the Sultan. Here it was proposed to test his divine mission by shooting three poisoned arrows at him; the Sultan promising, that, if Sævi survived the trial, he himself would acknowledge him. Sævi declined the experiment, and was condemned to be impaled; on which, to the amazement of his followers, he snatched a turban from the head of a Turk and placed it on his own,—the usual mode of publicly avowing conversion to the faith of Mahomet. This act of apostacy did not put an end to the imposture; for on being dismissed, he boldly proclaimed that God had transformed him for awhile from an Israelite into an Ishmaelite; and proceeded to shew from the prophets that the Messiah was thus to be numbered with transgressors. His admirers, on recovering from their surprise, embraced this error likewise, and numbers daily snatched the turbans of the Moslems; until the unconvinced portion of the rabbies, fearing that all Israel would go over to Islamism, bribed the authorities to arrest Sævi, who threw him into prison, where he died.[1] After his death his disciples gave out that he was translated to heaven as Elijah; and Nehemiah, one of his most pertinacious adversaries, being now won over to his opinions, the delusion prospered for awhile more than ever.[2]

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[1] This is not the only instance of a voluntary turning to Islamism. Michael Cardon, a rabbi of Fez, having declared, as by the spirit of prophecy, that the Messiah would not appear until all Israel were either holy or wicked, recommended the pious Jews, as the readier course, to become Mahometans; in consequence of which great numbers in Morocco, Egypt, and other parts obeyed.

[2] A bitter enemy of the sect declares, in a treatise called "The Book of the Wonderful History," that almost one-third of the *world*, (meaning thereby the *Jews*) believed that he was the Messiah.

Various revivals have since taken place among the Sabbathaists. In the year 1700 they sent out numerous missionaries among the Jews, who preached repentance through Sævi, and made many additional converts. Rabbi Israel, surnamed *Baal Shem (possessor of the name)* became eminent among them in Poland about 1740, and further increased the sect by the miracles reported of him. Another eminent rabbi, named Bescht, (if he be not the same,) is mentioned, as arising about the same period; and later in the same century rabbi Jacob Frenk went from Poland, (or, as some relate, from Constantinople to Podolia,) and finally settled at Offenbach, near Frankfort on the Maine.[1] Frenk, like his predecessor Sævi, in order to avoid unpleasant consequences from the Romish Church, before the prelates of which he was cited whilst in Podolia, unexpectedly submitted to baptism, declaring his belief in Jesus as the Messiah, and announcing himself as the forerunner of his second advent. He nevertheless obtained many adherents; and from him the Chasidim of Offenbach, Brune, and the parts about where Frenk resided, are often called *Frenkists*, and also *Zoharites* from their being addicted to the ancient cabalistic book *Zohar*.[2]

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[1] *Frenk* is sometimes confounded with Bescht, and even with Sævi. By others he is called *Baron von Frank*, and his career variously stated to have commenced in 1740, 1750, 1780, and 1792. Some bring him from Constantinople to Poland first, and thence to Offenbach. The probability is, from a comparison of the different accounts, that rabbi Israel, or Baal Shem, is the pretender who arose in Podolia about 1740 and died in 1760, that Bescht and Frank were his disciples, and that the latter succeeded him in reputation, and finally quitted Podolia for Offenbach.

[2] Dr. Jost, himself a Jew opposed to Chasidism, declares nevertheless that it is now the religion of nine-tenths of the Jews in Galicia, South Hungary, Wallachia, and West and South Russia; and that it is known also to exist to a considerable extent in Bohemia, Moravia, Moldavia, and Poland. (McCaul's Sketches, &c. p. 20.)

The Chasidim may therefore be divided into four classes: 1st, those who continue Jews, but are not followers of Sævi; 2d, the followers of Sævi who remain conformed to Judaism; 3d, those who are outwardly joined to the Romish Church, but who continue to practise Judaism; 4th, those who are externally Mahometans, but likewise secretly Jews, many of whom were met with by Dr. Wolff in the East.[1]

In the infancy of their sect the Zoharites vied in their voluntary mortifications with the most rigorous monks, passing days together without nourishment, wearing rough garments next the skin, lying out upon the snow in winter, and upon thorns in the summer, and bathing at midnight in the coldest water, the ice having to be broken for the purpose; by which austerities many lost their senses and some their lives. They still surpass the other Jews in fasting and self-denial, and are to be distinguished in general, in their appearance, by an affected slovenliness in their attire, and a wildness of countenance. Some of their religious principles are admirable, if they were but acquainted with the only power which can enable them to carry them out.[2] But the good which is in their system is more than counterbalanced by the power which their *zaddik*, or chief rabbi, has usurped, or has had conceded to him by his besotted followers. In this respect the most cunning, audacious, and blasphemous assumptions of popery are exceeded, and the prostration of the understanding of the blinded worshipper still more complete. They inculcate that the most important of all principles is unreserved devotion to the Zaddik; that his disciples must reject wisdom, science, reason, and the testimony of the senses, and receive his dictum as infallible; and if what he says appears contradictory, so much greater is the merit of unreserved obedience. The Zaddik must be to the Chasid *more than God:* they declare that the Zaddik teaches God himself what he ought to do; that God takes pleasure in being contradicted by him; and that when there is a difference of opinion in heaven, it is settled by the Zaddik. The dogmas by which the Zaddikim obtain supplies from their admirers are scarcely inferior in impudence and impiety. They teach—"He that is in grief let him give presents continually to the Zaddik."—"The only way for a sinner to obtain pardon of God is unceasingly to endeavour, with all his might, to increase the income of the Zaddik." "No one should pass over the threshold of the Zaddik with empty hands."—"The Zaddik has power to appoint every one his place in heaven or hell, as he may see fit!"

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[1] The chief rabbi of Cairo informed Dr. Wolff, that there were many Jews, who, without being avowed followers of Sævi, declare, when embarrassed by the scriptures which speak of a suffering Messiah, that they think Sævi might be he.

[2] They maintain, e. g. that a man should have no other will than the will of God; that faith and truth are inseparable; that pride is idolatry; that covetousness must be annihilated; that worldly honours should be shunned, insults received in silence, and good deeds performed without looking for reward. They profess that their great object is to attain to communion with God, and intercourse with the world of spirits; and that for that purpose they study Cabbala.

The Zaddik likewise imposes penances, dispenses amulets, (or slips of parchment having cabbalistic sentences,) is consulted as a seer concerning difficulties and future events, and his benediction is supposed to heal the sick and barren.[1] By these means

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[1] The Zaddik of Kishanoff in Poland was visited by Christians as well as Jews: and another at Koszeniec was so famed, that after his decease questions, written on slips of paper, were still referred to his decision, and left at his tomb. How the *answers* were returned is not related. (Jewish Exp. 1828, p. 182.)

Frenk was enabled to live in great magnificence, maintaining a number of beautiful youths of both sexes, (whose parents thought it an honour to yield them up to him,) and he appeared in public with a state vying with royalty.

The *worship* of the Chasidim is fanatical in the extreme. They stimulate themselves, previous to their devotion, by the use of ardent spirits; and exercise themselves in horrible contortions and gestures, in jumping, writhing and howling, in order to provoke frenzy of mind. A Christian missionary describes one of their synagogues, visited by him, as more like bedlam than a place of worship: the Chasidim were seated with immense phylacteries on their foreheads, giving them the appearance of horned creatures, and first murmured in a voice scarcely audible, then shouted with such fury as if giving signal for battle, and next jumped about and bowed toward the sanctuary in an idolatrous manner. Another describes the synagogue at Koszeniec as crowded to excess, in which some were standing with their faces toward the wall, shaking themselves backward and forward with great rapidity; some were beating the wall with the palms of their hands; whilst a number of boys were making a great noise, alternately singing and chattering.[1]

But there is likewise great fanaticism and indecorum in the worship of the Talmudist Jews. Of the synagogue in Rotterdam a missionary states,

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[1] For the preceding account of the Chasidim, see Mayer's "Brief Account of the Zoharites;" Dr. McCaul's Sketches of Judaism, &c.; Dr. Wolff's Journals for Sept. 1821, Aug. 1830; Dr. Pinkerton's Letters from Poland, and the Journals of Messrs. Smith, Nitschke, Bergfeldt and others, in the Jewish Expositor for 1816, 1819, p. 31, 1827, p. 13, 1828, pp. 108, 184, 191.

"that it was curious but painful to behold the gestures and grimaces of the elder Jews, like persons in convulsions and frantic; whilst others were talking on the common concerns of life, and the children were at play.[1] Of the Jews of Bohemia another missionary states, that whilst the aged are engaged in devotion, others manifest great levity, talk in an unbecoming manner, and walk to and fro.[2] At Turin in 1822, whilst divine service was going forward in the splendid Italian synagogue erected there, a man was crying about for sale the weekly contributions for the poor, which are let to the highest bidder like the tolls of a turnpike road. In England, on the second Sabbath from the first of tabernacles, the boys are summoned to the reader's desk to hear a portion of the law; on which occasion they indulge in all sorts of buffoonery, pinning paper and rags to the reader's mantle, the congregation meanwhile being in a roar of laughter. In the synagogues in Alsace it is not unusual for the younger Jews to quarrel and proceed to personal conflict; which outrage was likewise witnessed by the missionary Ewald in the synagogue at Tunis.[3] Quarrels are also frequent in the synagogues of England, though they may not proceed to blows.

III. The beginning of the present century has seen a new religious community rise up in Israel, called

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[1] Journal of Rev. R. Smith.

[2] Journal of Rev. J. F. Nitschke, Jewish Exp. 1819.

[3] Jew. Exp. 1830, p. 98; Jew. Intel. 1834, pp. 42, 110; Ceremonies and Customs of Jews by H. Isaacs, pp. 80, 169.—There is no room however for Christians to exult over Israel on account of these things. The exhibitions of Christianity in Syria, by the different sects which resort to Jerusalem during Easter, have proved a great stumbling-block both to Jews and Mahommedans. In the great church of the Holy Sepulchre have been witnessed open quarrels of rival sects, abominable idolatry, religious fraud, and the grossest sensuality and lewdness.

"Jews of the New Temple," or "Rational and Reformed Jews." Their origin is attributed to the writings of the celebrated rabbi Moses Mendleshon, who having first acquired considerable influence by his learning, next proceeded to introduce among his followers the study of the German literature, (previously considered profane;) and without avowedly opposing, he nevertheless discouraged the study of the Talmud. A literary and philosophical society was in 1783 formed by some of his zealous and learned coadjutors at Konigsberg, among whom the trammels of rabbinism were quietly laid aside. One of these, named Jacobson, at length built what he called a *temple* at Seetzen, and furnished it with an organ;—contrary to the precepts of the rabbins, who have so forgotten the instrumental music used in David's time, as to deem such performance inconsistent with sabbatical rest. Jacobson also introduced a selection of prayers in the vernacular tongue, instead of the usual heterogeneous mixture in the Hebrew; the solitary annual sermon was expanded into a weekly lecture; and the proverbial indecorum of the synagogue gave place to the order and decency of a Protestant assembly. Similar congregations were soon after formed in Berlin, Leipsic, Breslau, Hamburg, Altona, and other places, among the members of which the old Jewish costume and manners, and even the speaking of Hebrew were gradually exploded, and the latitudinarian and neological opinions of their German instructors speedily manifested themselves. These things however caused a reaction among them in favour of rabbinism: the more devout and sober Jews withdrew from a system, which they found to be only a device to destroy Judaism, without substituting any real religion in its place, and the Reformed Synagogues have consequently become little better than infidel assemblies.[1]

IV. The enumeration of the Jewish sects must not be dismissed without the mention of the *Karaites*, who are the remains of the ancient *Textuarii*, and still firmly adhere to the principles of their forefathers, rejecting the traditions of the rabbins, and even the Chaldee paraphrase, and confining themselves to the simple text of holy writ. God has remarkably honoured their faithful testimony, by preserving them from persecution, and in some degree of independence. They chiefly abound in the Crimea, where they have not only towns and villages entirely Jewish, but a fortress called Dschoufout-kalé, situate on the summit of high rocks, which has been in their possession for ages. Dr. E. D. Clarke visited it in 1800, and Dr. Pinkerton in 1816, when the latter noticed a Hebrew inscription on a grave-stone 570 years old, showing that during the darkest season of the dark ages, they had nevertheless remained unmolested. Those of the Crimea and Ukraine are manufacturers, and sell their wares throughout those countries. Their manners are simple, their habits industrious, and their honesty proverbial. Dr. Wolff gives the same character of those with whom he met in the East. Another colony of them was discovered by Dr. Pinkerton at Troki on the borders of the lake Bienal, who had enjoyed undisturbed and distinguished privileges there for many centuries from the dukes of Lithuania and kings of Poland. There are about two thousand more of them scattered in Poland, and small communities of them at Cairo, Damascus, Bagdad, and in some parts of Persia.

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[1] McCaul's Sketches, and Jew. Exp. for 1816, 1818, 1820, 1823.

The Talmudical Jews hate them more than they do Christians, asserting that if a Caraite and a Christian happen to be in danger of drowning together, they ought to make a bridge of the body of the Caraite to save the Christian. They will not receive them into communion on any terms—not even on an entire and voluntary renunciation of their principles; and whilst they are compelled to acknowledge their high antiquity, they maliciously confound them both with the Sadducees and the Samaritans.[1]

The moral character of the Jews in general has been greatly deteriorated by their political degradation, and the oppressive measures of their gentile rulers. Previous to the overthrow of their state by Titus, their pursuits were chiefly agricultural and military. Those who resided upon the sea-coasts followed commerce; and there were likewise some manufactures carried on among them. (See page 210.) What the general avocations were of the multitudes dwelling in the cities of Egypt, Syria, and other regions, it would be more difficult to determine; but as they commonly possessed equal privileges with the other inhabitants, their occupations would probably partake of the same diversity of character. But after the storm burst upon them, their circumstances were everywhere altered. Those who were not in the service of a Gentile master were often reduced to great extremities for a livelihood. Juvenal indeed speaks of the wealth of those at Rome, but describes them generally as sweepers of the streets in cities, and fellers of wood in the country; and Martial represents them as venders of matches for broken glass, fortune-tellers, and astrologers.[1] During the gleams of sunshine which followed, they again pursued agriculture and commerce, were permitted to enlist in the armies of their rulers and to fill offices in the state; but the spirit of exclusion from these callings, first evinced by Justinian, became more jealous and more stringent in its downward progress into the dark ages; until at length scarcely any means of subsistence were left to them but money-lending and a petty trading or pedlaring. In following these callings, they have not in their dealings with Christians been scrupulous of fraud; which they seem to have considered as only a fair retaliation upon the Gentile for the wrongs they were enduring at his hand; and by excessive usury and great parsimony they speedily accumulated riches. This wealth however was the secret incentive to many of those persecutions which they suffered: God in this manner still "smiting Judah for the iniquity of his covetousness." (Isa. lvii. 17.)

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[1] See Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 185; Pinkerton's Letters, Jewish Exp. for 1816 and 1818; Jewish Int. 1836, p. 197. Wolff's Journal for 1821; Abbé Gregoire, p. 86, and Lord Royston's Remains.

Their present condition varies in some respects in different countries, and whilst the extremes of poverty and riches are to be found among them, so is their moral character affected by particular circumstances. Those in Russian Poland are represented as the worst in any Christian state, being little else than a band of robbers, who endeavour to steal and defraud in every possible way, and who are dead to all sense of shame.[1] Their vulgar greediness of money and their general profligacy have brought an odium on the Jews of Poland in general; with whom however they ought not to be confounded. Those of Lithuania and Courland are likewise much degraded and neglected, and are commonly either smugglers or slaves.[2] The dirty habits of the Ashkenazim Jews in general (by which name those of Poland and Germany are commonly distinguished,) have been remarked by all travellers; which is the more surprising when their ceremonial purifications are considered. At the Hague, the street in which they reside goes by a vile name, in consequence of its filthiness; as does likewise the quarter in Prague inhabited by the Zoharite Jews.[3] But the *Sephardim*, who are the descendants of the Jews of Spain, are superior in these respects to the Ashkenazim, and among them are to be found many of cultivated minds, and refined manners and habits. In other respects, if we except the frequency of *divorces*, the moral character of the Jews is by no means inferior to that of their Christian neighbours, and in some respects superior. They are generally abstemious; their clothing, furniture, and food are much plainer than among Christians of the same rank; and they practise much self-denial.[4]

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[1] Juvenal, sat. iii. and vi. Martial, lib. i. ep. 42; lib. xx. ep. 46.

The afflictions of the Jews have likewise served to knit them together, in a much closer bond of national brotherhood. If any are injured by gentiles, they unite as one man in behalf of the sufferers, and private animosities are laid aside, until they are delivered or redressed, if practicable. They are also particularly hospitable to each other. A Jew may travel all over the world with scarcely a penny in his pocket, and will be sure to meet with food and a welcome wherever there are Jews. This is more especially the case if he is learned; for learning is highly prized by them, and ranks higher in their estimation than wealth; insomuch that the richest man would consider it an honour to unite his daughter to a learned man, however poor. Persons of no greater resources than our middling tradesmen engage a schoolmaster or tutor for their families; and when too poor to pay his trifling salary themselves, several families unite together to maintain one. Sound knowledge is nevertheless at a low ebb; for owing to their rooted prejudices against the sciences and literature of the gentiles, learning declined with them, in proportion as it revived among the Christians. They can still boast of men of great talents and erudition; but generally speaking the Jews affect learning rather than possess it. Their schoolmasters are for the most part incompetent to lead their pupils to any thing beyond the range of the Talmud; and that contains little which is calculated to enlarge either the mind or the heart.

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[1] Journals of Messrs. Hoff and McCaul, Jew. Exp. 1825.

[2] Jew. Exp. 1817, p. 73.

[3] Ibid. 1825, p. 34; 1827, p. 230.

[4] McCaul's Sketches. The Chasidim indeed, or rather the Frenkists, have a questionable character; their enemies accusing them of the most execrable crimes; and others describing them as harmless and industrious. The incitements to licentiousness among them certainly would appear to be limited to their Zadikim.

We may now return to those measures which have been adopted in many of the states of Europe for ameliorating the condition of the Jews.

Some princes have granted them complete emancipation, placing them on an equal footing with their own subjects, provided they will consent to military service: other states have conceded *certain* rights of citizenship, as the permission to trade, possess land, &c.[1] These edicts have been accompanied in some instances, and followed in others, by further decrees, the object of which is to improve the moral and religious condition of the Jews without actually interfering with their faith; whilst several states have adopted this latter class of ordinances only, by way of preparing the Jewish population for political concessions. Government schools for their children have been established, from which the Talmud has been excluded, and Moses and the prophets introduced; the masters are required to undergo a previous examination as to their competency, and the children are compelled to attend. In some states the worship of the synagogue has been interfered with, so far as to enforce order and decorum,—to ensure the efficiency of the rabbi,—and to provide a liturgy in the vernacular tongue. Such interference has not of course been palatable to the Jews: in Bavaria and Wurtemberg it was decidedly resisted; but the police sealed up the synagogues until the Jews submitted.[2] In the year 1818 the Emperor Alexander of Russia, in order to encourage them to turn their attention to agriculture, granted a tract of land, in the government of Cherson on the Black Sea, to such as chose to remove thither and settle, and a colony of 4000 Jews is now to be found there. Other rulers have since followed his example, and are endeavouring to lure the Jews from their traffic to agriculture, as one of the best political remedies for those evils, which the intolerance of their predecessors first created.

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[1] The grand duchy of Baden published such ordinances in 1809, some of the Italian states in 1811, Prussia and Mecklenburg Schwerin followed in 1812, Bavaria in 1813, the duchies of Hesse Darmstadt and Posen in 1822 and 1833, Denmark and Sweden in 1838, and the diet of Hungary in 1840.

[2] Jewish Exp. 1825, p. 344; 1827, p. 421; 1829, p. 145; Annual Register, 1838, p. 475; Quarterly Review, Jan. 1839; Record Newspaper, 17th Jan. 1839; Times, April 3, 1840.

England has been apparently tardy in the work of emancipation. The Roman Catholic and the Negro have been set free: the Jew is still degraded. It was only in the year 1836 that in the city of London they could become freemen ; prior to which period a considerable fine was inflicted upon them for liberty to trade; and they still are unable, without baptism, to become possessed of lands. The reason however is not to be found in any want of readiness in the British public to remove real grievances from the Jews, but from the fact that their merely political partisans in England are disposed to claim too much for them, and to force them into positions which will give them a control over Christianity itself; merely out of a zeal against every thing that would impose a restraint upon opinions or practice in politics and religion. This is manifestly the ground on which the several bills introduced into the British Parliament in behalf of the Jews, have been rejected.

Efforts have likewise been made to improve the *spiritual* condition of the Jews, by drawing their attention to the nature of true Christianity. To attempt their conversion is indeed no new thing: a zeal for proselyting them has existed throughout the darkest ages; but the compulsory or the unscriptural character of the means generally employed was calculated only to produce hypocrites. Whether they fled from their royal persecutors in Spain, Portugal, England,

and France, or from the fanaticism of Crusaders and Flagellants;—whether they were shipwrecked upon the shores of Christian kingdoms, or were found in other circumstances ready to perish;—the clergy would not, in the dark ages, allow either refuge or food to be extended to them, but at the price of *baptism*. In the seventeenth century Sisebut compelled 90,000 Jews by imprisonment and stripes to submit to baptism; and in the reign of Ferdinand of Spain 200,000 are said to have accepted baptism in order to escape the miseries to which they were exposed. The unsatisfactory character of such conversions may be inferred from the fact, that the council of Toledo enacted laws against those, *who continued to observe their own festivals, and who neglected the sacraments and worship of Christ*. And the establishment of the Inquisition in 1480 was chiefly for the purpose of punishing the nominal converts of Israel; by which tribunal in Seville alone 280 Jews were burned and 17,000 variously punished in one year.[1]

Some again, with more of humanity, though still without understanding the true mode of propagating the gospel, endeavoured to entice the Jews to Christianity by bribes. Pope Gregory I. remitted the taxes of all Jewish converts, and emancipated all Jewish slaves, immediately on their receiving baptism. Edward I. of England, when he confiscated the goods of those who would not become Christians, caused half the produce thereof to be set apart for the use and encouragement of those who would.[2] The success of these measures was sometimes greater than the Christians desired: so early as the time of Theodosius, in order to prevent the fraudulence of those Jews who made a trade of baptism, a law was enacted to restrict the ordinance to such only as could produce a certificate of previous Christian instruction: whilst in France, during the fourteenth century, the baptism of Jews was discouraged by the confiscation of the goods of the proselyte.[1]

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[1] It was a striking instance of retribution on the Jews to have such an institution as the inquisition inflicted on them by the *rabbinism* of misnamed Christianity; seeing that the *rabbies* of Judaism had first established such a means of persecution, though perhaps of a modified character, against the Christians. (See pages 434, 5.)

[2] Basnage, p. 680.—The oldest account of preaching to the Jews is

But spontaneous and genuine conversions to Christianity have likewise frequently occurred from among the Jews, subsequent to their dispersion. Hilary of Poictiers was, in the fifth century, instrumental in convincing many of the Jews of Gaul; and yet was so much beloved, even by those who continued in Judaism, that at his death he was generally bewailed by them. In the same century most of the Jewish inhabitants of the island of Crete became Christians.[2] A controversy at Minorca, between Theodosius a Jew and the Christian bishop Severus, is said to have terminated in the conversion of all the Jews of that island; and the entire inhabitants of Borium, a Jewish town in Africa, were in like manner converted in the reign of Justinian. In England in the reign of William Rufus there appear to have been converts both willing and intelligent.[3] In Spain,

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in a precept of Edward I. in 1321, directing the sheriffs and bailiffs to oblige them to attend the Dominican Friars.

[1] French Encyclopedia, art. *Juif.*

[2] Socrates, Hist. Eccles.

[3] The father of one of these offered the king sixty marks, if he would compel his son to return to Judaism. The king ordered the young man into his presence, and on his refusing to recant, threatened to have his eyes plucked out of his head. But the combined firmness and meekness of the youth convinced the king that he was more of a Christian than himself, and he discharged him; retaining however half of the father's bribe.

in the thirteenth century, there were many sincere proselytes, chiefly through the controversies of Raymond Martin. Jerome de St. Foi, a converted Jew of the fifteenth century, by means of a book which he wrote, called *Hebræomastix*, was the means of converting several thousands of his brethren.[1] In the sixteenth century, the celebrated Hugh Broughton made so great an impression on the Jews of the continent, that many were strongly drawn toward Christianity.[2] In the reign of Queen Anne one Marcus Moses, a Jew of considerable influence, heartily received Jesus as the Messiah, and so many persons who followed his example were left destitute in consequence by their Jewish relatives, that Parliament interfered and passed an act, empowering the Lord Chancellor to compel supplies from parents or kindred at his discretion.[3] To professor Franke however, and his pious and learned pupil Dr. H. Callenberg, is due the credit of making the first systematic efforts, on right principles, toward the conversion of the Jews; in which they were zealously seconded by the Moravians. They founded an institution at Halle in Prussian Saxony in 1728, translated the scriptures into Hebrew and Arabic, and sent out Missionaries, who excited a deep sensation among the Jews, and greatly conciliated them by their admirable spirit and deportment: but, as Crantz has justly observed, " the hour of their visitation was not yet come," and no decided or permanent impression was made. Nevertheless the annals of conversion from Judaism to real Christianity during this century exhibit the names of several distinguished rabbies and learned individuals, whence it may safely be inferred that there was likewise a goodly election from among the Jews of inferior note.[1]

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[1] In the same century Vincent Ferrier, a Spaniard, is said to have converted twenty-five thousand Jews by his miracles; but it is doubtful if these could have been genuine or willing converts, as they continued to practise circumcision, to observe the passover, &c.

[2] The eminent rabbi Elias said to him, " Oh that you would translate the New Testament into such Hebrew as you now speak to me; you should turn all our nation."—*Life of H. Broughton.*

[3] Stat. 1st Anne, cap. xxx.

The wonder rather is that so many have been converted during this period than so few. Unreflecting persons attribute in this matter too much to the stubbornness of the Jew, and too little to the unfavourable picture of Christianity commonly presented to his view. When the Jews, in the Roman Catholic countries of the continent, see Christians bowing down to crosses and images in the public streets; when, in the reformed churches, they find the pastors too commonly infidel in sentiment; when they observe the Sabbath generally desecrated, and the multitude as dissolute in morals as in heathen countries, they naturally inquire, what they are to gain by the exchange from Judaism to Christianity.[2]

It was with a competent knowledge of the difficulties to be encountered from the hostility of rabbinical bigotry, the heartlessness of nominal Christians, and the frowns of a practical infidelity, that in 1809 a small band of pious individuals instituted "the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews." For some years it struggled under great discouragement; but at length, when the motives of its members came to be better understood, the conduct of its missionaries tested, and it was manifest to the Jews that all were moved by a spirit of love for Israel, they began to appreciate their conduct, and to think better of Christianity; and a great spirit of inquiry was the result among the Jews of Germany and Poland, where they exist in the greatest numbers.[1] In towns, where the missionaries had been rebuffed or insulted and their books destroyed, they were now cordially welcomed. So great an eagerness was manifested for tracts and copies of the holy scriptures, and of the New Testament in particular, that in some instances they came in a mass, and bought all the copies which the missionaries had, to the amount of many hundred; and nearly tore each other to pieces in their contest for the last copies, when they perceived the supply running short. The missionaries were likewise so oppressed by the crowds, who came for instruction or discussion, that they were obliged to be attended by the police, who admitted only a certain number at a time.[1] In some places Christian inn-keepers took advantage of their eagerness to demand money for admission: in other places Jewish inn-keepers re-

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[1] Crantz's Hist. of the Moravians; and Dreyhaupt's Circle of the Saale, part ii. p. 44. Among the eminent converts of this century may be mentioned rabbi Xeres, who afterwards published an address to the Jews; rabbi Hertz, of Glogau; rabbi Ezehel, afterwards named Frederick Albrecht Augusti, who became pastor of Escheberge in Saxe Gotha; rabbi Judah Monis, (of America); Nicole Aratta; three rabbies, who were the successive teachers in the synagogue at Kilburgshauser, named Selig, Mendel, and Levi, severally confounded in disputation by professor Kern; and rabbi Solomon Duitch, who became pastor of a Christian congregation in Holland. Dr. Wolff also, on visiting Moussul, (the ancient Nineveh) in 1824, was surprized at finding in the ark of the Jews of that place a MS. New Testament, translated into Hebrew by a rabbi in the previous century, and the Jews of Moussul almost Christian in doctrine.

[2] See the Journal of Mr. Hausmeister;—Jew. Int. pp. 34, 39.

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[1] There are great difficulties in the way of arriving at the real statistics of the Jews. Most travellers speak of their numbers only by guess, or as the product of some vague mode of calculation, or from the report of designing Jews, who purposely deceive; and hence immense discrepancies appear. The Weimar Geographical Ephemerides state the Jewish population of Tunis at 130,000; Messrs. Nicolayson and Farman, who visited Tunis subsequent to the publication of those tables, estimate it at 60,000; and Mr. Ewald, the present missionary in Morocco, has stated it at as low as 4000. These discrepancies may in some instances be accounted for by the tide of emigration; but this only renders the difficulty so much the greater of arriving at an accurate estimate of the entire numbers of the Jews. Thus when the French took possession of Algiers, multitudes went to Palestine and other places, under the protection of French passports; so that the population of Palestine, which was reported to Dr. Wolff in 1822 to be only about 4000, was stated to the Scottish deputation in 1839 to be between 10,000 and 15,000. Other discrepancies, however, cannot be accounted for in this way: e. g. Dr. Pinkerton in 1821 pointed out a portion of Europe comprehending Poland and parts of Russia, Austria, and Turkey, the Jews of which countries he estimated at *three millions*. Since then official government returns have been published of the number of Jews in the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian dominions, which are as follow:—Austria 453,524, Russia 422,440, and Prussia 183,579: total 1,059,543; from which it is clear that an immense deduction must be made from Dr. Pinkerton's conjecture. Some make the entire Jewish population of the world only about *three* millions; others have extended it to *fifteen* millions. The London Society for ameliorating the condition of the

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Jews states it, in their report for 1832, at *six millions*; and as they obtain tolerably accurate intelligence from their missionaries, that is most probably near the mark. The reader may consult on this point, if he desires further information, Dr. Wolff's Journal for 1830, Walsh's Narrative of a Journey to Constantinople, &c, the communications of Messrs. Nicolayson, Leeves, Farman, Ewald and Ayerst in the Jewish Expositor and Intelligencer for 1825, 1826 and 1838, and Faber's Judah and Israel, vol. ii. p. 116.

[1] See the Journals of Messrs. Becker, Bergfeldt, Golberg, Handes, Hoff, Lange, M'Caul, Marc, Moritz. O'Neill, Piashi, Petri, Reichardt, Smith, and Wendt, in the Jewish Expositor, &c. from 1821 to 1832. The Rev. S. R. Maitland, Librarian of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who visited Poland in 1828 for the sake of informing himself of the state of the Jews, thus wrote from Warsaw to friends in England in August of that year: "On Saturday the missionaries were actually overrun by the Jews. I found the house full when I went up in the morning; and when I went in the afternoon, I expected, from the numbers whom I met coming down the street, that all was over for the day; but when I came near the house I saw at least 150 outside the gates, who could not get up to the premises, and a great many in the yard who could not get into the house." In October of the same year he wrote, "I had, in fact, witnessed *nothing*, in comparison of what I afterwards saw; and had no adequate idea of the deep and extensive spirit of inquiry which has been raised among the Jews." (J. Exp. 1828, pp. 398, 418.)

fused payment of the missionary for his board and lodging, declaring themselves the gainers, and blessing him when he departed. The Jews also flocked to hear the missionaries, when they happened to be invited to preach in Christian churches; and in several instances offered their own synagogues for the same purpose.[1]

The excitement has not been confined to the Jews of Europe. Those of Damascus have been seen fighting in the streets for the last copies of the New Testament, which the missionary had to distribute; those of Cairo have exhausted his strength by the numbers in which they have flocked to his lodgings for instruction; and Dr. Wolff in Jerusalem and Dr. Dalton in Alexandria, have been permitted to preach in their synagogues.[2] At Ispahan and Shiraz the former enterprising missionary had opportunities allowed him of preaching to congregations of several hundreds of his brethren at a time; and they not only received with gladness the New Testament themselves, but forwarded copies to the Jews of other cities; in consequence of which he afterwards found himself known and welcomed in almost all the places which he visited in Mesopotamia.[3] A considerable spirit of inquiry and desire for the holy scriptures has likewise been excited among the Jews of Morocco.

These things, however, have not in all places been suffered to pass off quietly, either from the Jews themselves, or from their Mahometan masters. In Palestine especially the authorities are every where jealous of the Jews being converted to Christianity;[1] and the bigoted Israelites themselves take advantage of the hostile spirit of the Mahometan governments to persecute those of their brethren who appear seriously inclined toward Christianity. One instance of this kind terminated in results of so much interest and importance, that it deserves to be related.

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[1] Jewish Exp. 1829, p. 244; 1826, p. 73 and 151.

[2] J. Expos. 1821 and 1823.

[3] Journal for 1827.

Some copies of the New Testament, distributed by the missionary Wolff in Palestine, found their way to Constantinople, and excited much inquiry among the Jews of that city.[2] The Rev. J. Hartley, an English missionary, happening to be in Constantinople at the time, gave instruction to certain of them; and the result was, that three were baptised. Their enraged brethren, by bribing the Turkish authorities, caused them to be thrown into prison, where they were kept on an allowance of food barely sufficient to sustain life; and throughout their imprisonment, which continued nearly twelve months, were repeatedly scourged, bastinadoed, and put to the torture. Most of the Jews who visited them came only to aggravate their misery by insult; but a few nevertheless secretly encouraged them to stand firm, with the assurance that many were deeply interested in their perseverance. The son of a rich banker of Constantinople, the personal friend of one of the confessors, returned at this period from Germany, and immediately hastened to the prison, in the confidence that he could reason his friend out of his supposed error; but the result of the discussion was his own conversion to the Christian faith, and his being in turn abandoned by his relatives, and subjected to the same cruelties as the other three. The fortitude of one at length gave way, and he recanted; the remaining three were soon after, through the interference of British residents and the Armenian clergy, set at liberty; but their release being followed by the baptism of several other Jews, the whole of them, in number about sixteen, were banished to Smyrna. This further act of severity was overruled for the conversion of several Jews of the latter city, without deterring those of Constantinople from coming forward: the Armenians daily baptised numbers, and declared that there were as many as two thousand who were desirous of becoming Christians: but the Jews, in the meanwhile, successfully practised on the jealousy and bigotry of the Moslems, and the Armenians were sternly forbidden to interfere. Many secret converts however quitted Constantinople for Poland and Germany, and in those countries obtained the object of their wishes—baptism.[1]

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[1] Jewish Expositor, 1825, p. 17.

[2] Jewish Exp. 1828; and Walsh's Narrative. Mr. Walsh describes the Constantinople Jews as the most fierce and intolerant of any, exceedingly lax in morals, and ready to engage in the most flagitious undertakings for the sake of money.

Nor has the career of the missionaries among the Jews in Germany and Poland been unattended with opposition. The rabbies have in several instances endeavoured to destroy the Christian books; they have resorted to the anathema in the synagogues; in some places they have induced parents to withdraw their children from the missionary schools; and in numerous instances Jewish converts to Christianity have been forced to endure the most serious privations and ill treatment from their relatives. The timid Jews have, under such circumstances, avoided the missionaries; the profane have been emboldened to insult and even to assault them.[1]

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[1] See the Letters of B. Barker, Esq., British Consul at Smyrna, of the Rev. W. B. Lewis, H. Leeves, and J. Farman; Jewish Exp. 1826, 1827, 1829, and Monthly Intelligencer, 1831.

It is calculated to excite a blush on the cheek of Christian readers to be informed, that the parallel with the East holds good in Europe in other respects. *Christian* authorities are sometimes found, who frown upon or obstruct the work of Jewish evangelization. Even in Protestant states, owing to the deadening influence of neology and worldliness, the missionary has been apprehended and imprisoned, or sent beyond the frontiers:[2] and whilst the Jews have been encouraged by these nominal Protestants to revile the missionary, the Jewish convert has been repulsed by them with coldness and disdain.[3]

Nevertheless, the result in Europe of the labors of Christian missionaries has been a total of actual baptisms amounting to about 4000 in the Protestant churches of the continent; of which number the official government returns up to the year 1838 shew that 1888 had occurred in the Prussian dominions alone, where the cause was piously promoted by the sovereign. Among the converts are Jews of the first reputation for scientific and literary attainments, numerous rabbies, and about fifty who are now ordained clergymen, acting as missionaries to their yet benighted brethren, or as pastors of Christian congregations.[1] The number also who have received baptism in Roman Catholic countries must, from various causes, be considerable. Besides actual baptisms, there is likewise a broad and deep undercurrent of conviction among the Jews. In numerous instances the study of the Talmud is laid aside for the holy scriptures; they are dissatisfied with Judaism; and a persuasion is gaining ground among the elder Jews, that the next generation of Israelites will all become Christians.[2]

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[1] Journal of Messrs. Moritz, M'Caul, West, and Banga; Jewish Exp. 1824, 1827, 1832.

[2] This happened to the missionary Becker at Dessau in 1834, to Dr. M'Caul at Breslau in 1830, (though the king of Prussia afterwards armed him with authority to labour there,) to Mr. Moritz, at Blotzheim in Alsace in 1830; also at Aurich and Norden in East Friesland.

[3] Thelwall's Letters, J. Exp. 1822; Noesgen's Journal, Monthly Intel. 1830, p. 149, and 1834, p. 154.

But there is likewise an unfavourable side of the picture. The contagion of infidelity among the nominal Christians of the continent has extended to the Jews. Since the more recent revolution in France, or "*glorious days of* 1830," (as they are called,) their character in that country has manifestly altered for the worse. Religion is now generally despised by them; so that those who attempt to speak to them even of Moses and the prophets are insulted. The same remark applies to the Jews of Alsace, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Rotterdam, and the parts of Germany chiefly infected with neology, who, since the current of avowed infidelity has set in from France, have been drawn into its vortex.[3]

As regards the present *political* condition of the

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[1] Among the learned may be mentioned the names of Dr. Jeitelles of Treeves, Neander of Berlin, Branis of Breslau, Stahl of Erlangen, Cappadoce and Leo of Amsterdam; Da Costa also, the poet, and several of the professors in the universities of Halle, Breslau, &c.

[2] See the communications of Professor Alexander and of Messrs. Moritz and Smith. J. Exp. 1824, 1827, 1828.

[3] See the Journals of Messrs. Ewald, Hausmeister, Moritz, Nicolayson, and Ostler, Jewish Exp. 1831, pp. 67 and 172; Monthly Intel. 1834, p. 163, 1835, p. 41, Jewish Intel. 1837, p. 199, 1838, and the Quarterly Review, Jan. 1839.

Jews, notwithstanding the decrees in their behalf which have been passed, the Christian reader will be deceived if he concludes that the reproach of Israel is yet "rolled away from off all the earth." The public mind has recently been startled by the report of cruelties and injustice to which the Jews of Damascus and Rhodes have been subjected, as if such instances of persecution and oppression were a novelty in these times. But in the East the Jews have all along been exposed to them, though their wrongs have failed until now in arresting particular attention. In the year 1823, at the same Damascus, all the Jews suspected of having property were thrown into prison, and compelled to pay forty thousand purses or lose their heads.[1] At Safet, in 1834, their houses were stripped, and great personal cruelties inflicted upon them, for the like purpose of extorting money; and generally in Syria they were compelled to work for the Turks without payment, being bastinadoed if they remonstrated. The lowest fallaah would stop them when travelling, and demand money as a *right* due to the Musselman; which robbery was liable to be repeated several times a day upon the same Jew.[2] Throughout the East they are obliged to affect poverty in order to conceal their wealth; the rulers in those countries making no scruple of seizing what they can discover. And though not interdicted from holding land, yet the enormous taxes demanded of them (equal to one-third of the produce, whilst the Mahometans pay only one-tenth), effectually exclude them from agriculture.

The occupation of Syria by the Egyptians did not mitigate the hard condition of the Jews of Palestine. They were still defrauded and insulted; the commonest soldier would seize the most respectable Israelite, and compel him by blows to sweep the streets, and to perform the most degrading offices. The contempt indeed in which they are held by Mahometans, however difficult to be accounted for, exceeds that which they have experienced in Christian lands. In the East they are truly become a proverb, the term *Jew* being applied despitefully, as the most reproachful and degrading known.[1]

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[1] Wolff's Journal, Oct. 1823.—A *purse* is about 225 piastres.

[2] Journal of the Rev. W. B. Lewis.

Even the *Christians* of Syria manifest a degree of malignity and contempt for the Jews, not witnessed in other places: the Nestorians in particular entertain a bitter hatred toward them; and were a Jew to set his foot within the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, he would be stoned by the Christians of all denominations.[2] It is to be feared indeed, however the Jews may have settled down as quiet citizens in Europe, that the ancient enmity against Christians is also cherished by *them* with the same bitterness as formerly; and that, if opportunity offered, it would exhibit itself with the same violence. When the Greek insurrection broke out in 1822, the Jews came eagerly forward on the part of the Turks against the Greeks, especially the Jews of Constantinople; which the Greeks however severely revenged by murdering every Jew that came in their way.[1] And when, in the present year, the Turkish troops succeeded the Egyptian in Damascus, the Jews, it appears, instigated them to persecute the Christians of all churches resident there, in the hope of exterminating them; the Jews themselves parading the streets in bands, cursing Christ, the Christians, and the priests, and maltreating all Christians whom they met.[2]

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[1] Dr. Wolff writes in his Journal, April 11, 1824, "We pitched our tent at Arass. A Dervish flogged his ass, and called him *Yehudi* (Jew)." In Turkey it is customary, when animals or things are named, which it is thought might be offensive to polite ears, to introduce the word with an apology; as, "I beg pardon, a *swine*." In like manner they say, "I beg pardon, a *Jew*," when compelled to speak of one.

[2] "The Eastern Churches," by the Rev. W. R. Fremantle, p. 43; "The Remnant Found," by the Rev. J. Samuel, p. 12.

In Persia the condition of the Jews is worse even than in Syria. Often whilst they are assembled in their synagogues, a soldier enters with an order from the Shah for money; they are compelled to work without payment; and their women are unceremoniously taken from them, without their daring to murmur. Their poverty and wretchedness may be best understood by the following graphic description given to Dr. Wolff, before he visited Shiraz, by a Mahometan: "Every house in Shiraz with a low, narrow entrance is a Jew's. Every coat much torn and mended is a Jew's. Every man with a dirty camel-hair turban is a Jew. Every one picking up broken glass and asking for old shoes and sandals is a Jew." This description was afterwards confirmed by the doctor's own observation, who found old and young in the street of their quarter sitting and crying to every stranger, with outstretched hand and feeble voice, "Only one pool *(penny)* for poor Israale!"[3]

In Morocco they are equally ground down by a barbarous despotism. The Moors consider that the object of a Jew's birth is to serve Musselmen, and he is consequently subject to the most wanton insults. The boys for their pastime beat and torment the Jewish children: the men kick and buffet the adults. They walk into their houses at all hours, and take the grossest freedoms with their wives and daughters, the Jews invariably coming off with a sound beating if they venture to resist.[1] In 1804 those of Algiers were subjected to horrible tortures, being suspended from the walls by long ropes with hooked nails at the ends, merely because they had unsuspectingly lent money to persons who were secretly conspiring against the Dey; nor were they released without the payment of a large sum.[2] In 1827 the Dey threw a rich Jew into prison for no other purpose than to extort from him 500,000 Spanish dollars.[3] At Tripoli the bashaw extorted a large sum from them on account of the drought, which he declared them to be the cause of.[4] Mr. Ewald, after describing the beauty, fertility, and prosperity of the island of Gerba in Morocco, "where, if any where, (he says) every one lives quietly beneath his own vine and fig-tree," next speaks of the Jews as the only exception, among whom he nowhere witnessed greater poverty and oppression; insomuch that he could have imagined he was beholding the Israelites of Egypt in Pharaoh's time, under their taskmasters. They were the quarrymen, hewers of wood, and drawers of water; their food consisted entirely of barley flour with salt and water; and they were altogether in an abject state of slavery. Since the occupation of Algiers by the French, the political condition of the Jews in that part of Morocco is improved; but their religious state, from their having imbibed the French infidelity, is more hopeless.

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[1] Walsh's Narrative; Wolff's Journal for May, 1823; Report of the Deputation of the Church of Scotland.

[2] Morning Herald, March 12, 1841; and other papers.

[3] Journals, July and Oct. 1824; Dec. 1825.

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[1] Riley's Travels, &c. 1817.

[2] Dr. Naudi's Letters, J. Exp. 1817, p. 77.

[3] Jew. Exp. 1827, p. 184.

[4] Ibid. 1829.

If British Christians have been surprised to find, from the instances at Damascus and Rhodes, that the Jews are still persecuted in the East, still less can they be aware of the oppression which they yet suffer in many parts of Europe, especially in Papal countries. The execution of the ordinances in their behalf, published since the French Revolution of 1792, have, it is to be feared, not been seriously intended in some instances; whilst in others, where the rulers have probably been sincere, the execution of the edicts has been prevented by their subjects,—their very promulgation, in some cases, having produced popular tumults.

In many parts of Germany they still cannot travel from town to town, nor pass a single night within the walls, without paying a tax not required from other persons, and being subjected to regulations which are both frivolous and humiliating. Neither in Petersburgh or Moscow are Jewish visitors allowed to remain above a week without obtaining a fresh passport.[1] The resident Jews of Hamburgh, Lubeck, Bremen, and Frankfort are burthened with oppressive taxes, not imposed on others; whilst arbitrary and capricious restrictions are from time to time imposed upon them in the way of trade.[2] Such indeed is the spirit of *commercial* jealousy against them, that the members of the trades unions in those towns refuse to work or even to associate with Jews;[1] and in 1818 a decree of the Senate was published at Lubeck, enacting that any person acting for, or in any way transacting business with a Jew, shall for the first offence be fined, and for the second imprisoned, and lose his right of citizenship; and that any clerk, porter, or menial servant living with a Jew shall be imprisoned and expelled.[2] In 1818 the Jews were expelled from Meiningen, which measure was only part of a more general persecution, thus narrated in a London journal:—" The desire of insulting the Jews seems as if it was spread all over Germany. Beginning at Wurtzburg, it has extended not only to Bamberg and Frankfort, but also to Dumbstadt, Mentz, and Prague, where the Jews are very numerous. The watchword is *Hep, Hep*, (derived from the initial letters of *Hierosolyma est perdita,—Jerusalem is lost,*) first raised by the German crusaders in 1097."[3] In 1830 at Hamburgh, Breslau, and other places, the populace rose against them, with cries of "*Down with the Jews;*" and in the former city forty-five of the rioters were killed by the military, before the tumult could be subdued.[4] At Neuenhaven, so lately as the year 1834, a boy being found murdered, the people, as at Rhodes, concluded the Jews had done it, for the sake of superstitiously using his blood, and an assault upon them ensued, by which many suffered.[5]

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[1] Elliott's Letters from the North of Europe, p. 282; Walsh's Narrative; and Jewish Exp. 1828, p. 292.

[2] The following is from the Record newspaper of Dec. 24, 1840:—"In Saxony the wool-dealers from Bohemia have been prohibited from exercising their calling. Some of the local papers have shewn the impolicy of this step, which, as well as the harsh measures in force against the Jews in some other German states, and especially in Bavaria, have their origin in the monopolizing spirit called forth by the *Zoll Verien.*"

In Poland the privileges which were granted to them in the time of Casimir the Great have long since been withdrawn, and they are now every where insulted and maltreated. The Polish children are from the cradle taught to spit upon and curse them; and they are robbed and defrauded by the older inhabitants without being able to obtain redress.[1]

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[1] Jew. Exp. 1828, p. 266. The same anti-social spirit exists among the higher classes at Amsterdam and throughout Hanover. (Letters of Rev. Lewis Way, J. Exp. 1818.)

[2] Jew. Exp. 1819.

[3] New Times, Aug. 28, 1819.

[4] Jew. Intel. 1830, p. 146.

[5] Jew. Intel. 1834, p. 174.

They have been banished from Norway; in which country not a single Jew is now to be found.[2]

In Italy, so recently as the year 1824, the imposition of the *badge* was revived;[3] and in 1827 Leo XII. directed the provisions of an edict of 1775 to be enforced, whereby the Jews were forbidden to have Christian servants, and Christians were forbidden to have converse with Jews. They are not allowed to quit the Ghetto for the purpose of attending fairs, without a special licence; and if a licence be granted, it may be refused by the bishop, inquisitor, or vicar of the town to which it is directed, (which it is sure to be, unless the said bishop, inquisitor, &c., be suitably bribed,) and when permitted to remain, the term of residence is limited to three days, during which the poor Jew is obliged to attend to numerous frivolous and vexatious regulations, for the breach of any one of which he is liable to a fine of thirty crowns, imprisonment, and other punishment *at discretion*.[4]

In Spain the Jews dare not even now reside avowedly as Jews; and those who assume Christianity as a mask are often jealously watched. So recently as in the year 1827, a person who had neglected to attend confession, was tried for the heresy of Judaism, and put to death.[1] Dissimulation has nevertheless been carried on by Jews in that country to an incredible extent; instances being on record of their taking holy orders, and even becoming judges of the inquisitorial courts, and yet practising Judaism in secret.[2]

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[1] Herschell's Brief Sketch, pp. 8, 29; Dr. Pinkerton's Letters, Jew. Exp. 2816.

[2] Letters from the North of Europe, by C. B. Elliott, Esq. p. 191.

[3] The King of Sardinia *removed* the badge in 1816; but by the same edict the Jews were deprived of the privilege of holding houses or lands, and five years were granted to them for disposing of those already possessed.

[4] Jewish Exp. 1827, p. 182; and Herschell's Strictures. Nevertheless, the Jews of Sardinia, and likewise of Venice, enjoy considerable privileges. (See the Report of the Ch. of Scotland Deputation; and Captain Wright's Travels, pp. 69, 74.)

The continued existence of the Jews, and as a peculiar and distinct people, notwithstanding the unparalleled tribulations they have undergone, is at once the problem and the standing miracle of the world. Various devices have been employed by potent enemies to effect the destruction of their religion, or to exterminate them as a people; they have been trampled upon successively by the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Chaldean, the Persian, the Greek, the Roman, the Papist, the Mahommedan; yet no weapon formed against them has prospered, so as to effect their extinction or their amalgamation with the Gentiles. They are yet found "sifted among all nations;" as well in the more remote and barbarous countries, as in those which are more civilized and better known; in all which they still may be said "to dwell alone," being distinguished by strongly marked characteristics from the other families of the human race.

That Israel should be thus wonderfully preserved, would of itself justify the conclusion, that God must have ulterior purposes to accomplish by them. But we are not left to derive this from inferences: the sacred oracles abound with predictions of their future restoration, when they will enjoy a glory and dominion, and a state of holiness, prosperity, and permanence, transcending all that has ever yet been witnessed in the world; and though they have lien among the pots, and their plumage has thereby become marred, yet shall they be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold. (Psalm lxviii. 13.)

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[1] Jewish Exp. 1827, p. 184.

[2] See a History of the Jews of Barbary, by L. Addison, father of the author of the Spectator.

Christian expositors of all ages, down into the last century, have unanimously concurred in the expectation of a literal restoration both of Judah and Ephraim, as declared by the prophets: it is only of late years that some have adopted an allegorical and incongruous mode of interpreting those scriptures which relate to it; to which they have apparently been driven by the seeming impossibility of the return of the *Ten Tribes*, who have latterly been so withdrawn from the observation and researches of the Christian church, as to have acquired the appellation of "the *lost* tribes."[1]

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[1] It is incompatible with the character of this volume, which treats only of historical facts, to enter into a formal disquisition on the prophecies. A defence of the literal interpretation of them, as they regard the Restoration of Israel, will be found in my "Elements of Prophetical Interpretation," in the chapter on that subject; and in pages 79 and 251 of the same work is an enumeration of the principal commentators who have taken this view. Nevertheless, as the notion that the *literal* fulfilment of the prophecies on this head was accomplished by the restoration from Babylon, is the most plausible of the modes by which it is attempted to evade their obvious meaning, the following summary of the principal objections to such an interpretation will not perhaps be considered out of place:—

1. It is declared that the Lord shall "set his hand the *second time* to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from *Assyria*,

This is no sufficient reason for departing from the true interpretation of God's word, nor for despairing of the event: were the whole world searched over, and no palpable vestiges of Ephraim could be disco-

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&c." (Isaiah xi. 11—16.) but the restoration from Babylon was only a *first* time.

2. The circumstances of the restoration are to be miraculous, (Isa. xi. 15.) the glory so eclipsing the deliverance out of Egypt that that event should not any more come into remembrance; (Jer. xvi. xxiii.) but nothing of the kind was witnessed when Judah returned from Babylon.

3. In that day the seed of Israel is to be gathered from all the four quarters of the globe; (Isaiah xliii. 5, 6.) the return from Babylon was only from the *east*.

4. *Every one* of them is likewise to be then gathered, even if driven out to the outmost parts of heaven; (Deut. xxx. 5. Isaiah xliii. 5—7.) but all admit that a *small portion only* of the captivity returned from Babylon, the rest preferring to remain behind.

5. When restored they are to be ruled over by the house of *David;* (Jer. xxx. 1—9. Ezek. xxxiv. Hosea iii. 4, 5. Zech. xii. 10, &c.) but after they came from Babylon they were either governed by princes of the family of *Levi*, or by *Edomite* strangers of the house of Herod.

6. Their Restoration is to be with great destruction of their enemies and triumph over them; (Zech. xii. &c.) whereas those who returned from Babylon were exposed to much insult and annoyance from Sanballat and others, who for many years impeded their work.

7. All nations are to become subject to them, when they shall be re-established; (Isaiah lx. 12, &c.) instead of which they were continually subject to others, and in bondage to Persians, Greeks, Syrians, and Romans.

8. They are, when restored, to be all circumcised in heart; (Deut. xxx. 6, &c.) but Stephen declared of them, that they were *un*circumcised in heart and ears, and did *alway* resist the Holy Ghost. (Acts vii. 51.)

9. They are to be "no more *pulled up* out of the land," but to inherit it for ever; (Amos ix. 15.) whereas their most entire and complete subversion has happened since, and their longest term of captivity.

10. The only shadow of argument for thus applying the prophecies in question to the return from Babylon is, that some of the ten tribes did return at that time, and that the entire of those who returned are called *Israel*. But this, when it comes to be examined, is destitute of any force. The case of those few who were "*companions* of Judah," is remarkably distinguished in Ezekiel xxxvii. 16, from "Ephraim and the whole house of Israel," as if to guard against mistake; and the return of the two families is therein distinctly fore-

vered, we ought not to question,—more especially after the proofs we have had of the literal fulfilment of the prophecies concerning Israel hitherto,—that the remainder will be as accurately accomplished in due time. We are not however without traces of the remains of these tribes; and a brief notice of the evidence concerning them will form an appropriate conclusion to this volume.

That they were living in the time of Josephus, and in the places whither they were first transplanted, is evident from the following passage: "There are *two tribes* living in Asia and Europe, in subjection to the Romans; but the *ten tribes* are beyond the Euphrates to this time:"[1] which testimony shews likewise, that he considered them as quite distinct from Judah and Benjamin, and not to have been restored to Palestine. They are declared by Sulpitius Severus and his contemporary Jerome, who lived in the fifth century, to have still resided in the same places in their days.[2] The subsequent conquests of the Ma-

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told. Nor is it to the purpose that the Jews are, after the return from Babylon, called *Israel* by Ezra; for any of the tribes may be called *Israelites;* and Ezra, when he is particular, speaks of that company that returned as *Judah and Benjamin.* (Ezra i. 5; iv. 1.)

11. Finally, Zechariah, who prophesied *after the return from Babylon,* distinctly predicts the restoration of the Ten Tribes, by the names of *Joseph* and *Ephraim,* as an event yet future. (Zech. x.)

[1] Ant. lib. ii. c. 5.

[2] Josephus calls the district inhabited by them *Adiabene.* Strabo apparently points to the same place, between the *Tigris* and *Lycus* (or *Zab)* but calls the region *Chalachene, Chalach* being only a different mode of writing the Hebrew *Halah,* חלח. (Joseph. de Bell, lib. ii. c. 28. Ant. lib. ii. 5; xx. 9. Strabo, lib. xi. xvi. Bochart, lib. iv. c. 19.) Jerome says, on Joel iii. 6, "They dwell in the cities and mountains of *Media* to this day;" and in his notes on Hosea—"They serve the *Persian kings* to this day." Sulpitius says: "The ten tribes, dispersed among the *Parthians, Medes, Indians and Ethiopians, never returned to their inheritance* but are subject to the barbarous princes." (lib. ii, c.26 .)

hometans disturbed those countries; on which many Israelites conformed to Islamism, and purchased by apostacy the permission to remain unmolested; whilst others, who were still desirous of exercising their religion, had ample opportunity, during the anarchy of those times, of retiring to the fastnesses bordering on the Caspian sea, or of plunging into that vast and still but imperfectly known territory, radiating eastward from the Caspian, comprehending Tartary, Thibet, China, great part of Hindostan, and several of the provinces of the Russian empire. In the twelfth century Benjamin of Tudela nevertheless found, in the mountains and cities of Nisbor, Israelites of the tribes of Dan, Zabulon, Asher and Naphtali;[1] and in the century following Matthew Paris declared it to be the current opinion that the Tartars of the Caucasus, and of the Caspian in general, were Israelites.[2] At the revival of letters, and the spread of the reformation, the attention of learned and intelligent Christians was again directed to the subject. Ortelius the geographer mentions, in the sixteenth century, the existence among the same people of the tribes of Dan and Naphtali;[3] in the seventeenth century, Olearius states that the Circassians were still circumcised, raised up seed to a deceased brother, and offered sacrifice on the day of Elias;[4] and several other learned men of those and later times handle the same topic.[5]

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[1] Itinerarium, p. 97.

[2] Hist. p. 564.

[3] Ortelii Tartaria, vel Tabula lxii.

[4] Edit. 1669, p. 310.

[5] Morinus states—"*Sane* inter ipsos Tartaro Colchis vicino etiam hordæ sive turmæ Naphtalitarum inveniuntur teste Agathia, lib. iv." —"Immo Danitarum; et celeberrimus Thuanus, lib. lxvii, observat, circumcisos fuisse antequam Muhammetes ipsi innotesceret." Diss. de Cognatione Lacedæmoniorum et Hebræorum. See also Joan Calvortii *Naphtali*, &c. Lond. 1672; the Oriental Travels of Marcus

The recently published researches of the Rev. Jacob Samuel of Bombay, a converted Jew, set this matter at rest, with regard to the inhabitants of the Caucasus. He describes a remnant of Israel dwelling in Daghistan, among the Lesghy tribes;[1] which latter are a fierce and indomitable race of mountaineers, the terror of the countries round about, whom neither Turks, Persians, nor Russians have been able to subdue. They are bigoted Moslems in religion, yet declare themselves to be of the tribe of Dan, and they allow the Israelites in question to live peaceably among them.[2]

Four particulars distinguish the Israelites of this region from the Jews. (1.) Their observance of the Hebrew festivals is of a more primitive character, and without any admixture of pharisaical traditions. The *Sabbath*, for example, is a day of praise and rejoicing, which they testify by *dancing*, a practice expressly forbidden by the Talmud. In the afternoon of that day they are instructed by the elders out of the law in allegories. (2 Kings iv. 23.) At the *Passover*

Paulus, lib. i. c. 55; and two Dissertations of Calmet, the one prefixed to his Commentary on Ezekiel, the other to his Commentary on 1 Chronicles. There is also much learned research and information concerning the Tartars of the Caucasus in two treatises called *Israel Redux*, the one by Dr. Giles Fletcher, who was the ambassador of Queen Elizabeth to the Czar of Muscovy, and thereby had good opportunity afforded him of inquiry; the other by Samuel Lee, fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.

[1] Mr. Samuel divides Daghistan into four small states, viz. Schamgal, Derbund, Tabasseran, and Lesgestan, the latter being the ridge of the Caucasus, which divides Georgia from the Caspian.

[2] They destroy the mounted Cossack by striking the heels of his horse; thus fulfilling the prophetic description of Jacob—"Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horses' heels, so that his rider shall fall backward." So hopeless is warfare against them considered, that the following proverb is current in Persia—"If any king of Persia is a fool, let him march against the *Lesghies*." Samuel's "Remnant Found," p. 47.

they kill a lamb, the blood of which is received into a basin, and sprinkled on every door-post, and the animal is then roasted and eaten with bitter herbs: the Jews, on the contrary, substitute a portion of meat broiled on the coals. *The feast of weeks* commemorates with them the reaping of the harvest, *when in their own land,* agreeable to Lev. xxiii: the Jews commemorate by it the giving of the law. The former call *the feast of trumpets* by its proper name; the latter call it *the head of the year.* On *the day of atonement* the customs of the Israelites of Daghistan are still more peculiar. Besides fasting so strictly that their cattle and even their infants are not fed, they draw water and pour it on their heads, both at morning and at sunset. In the first instance, having poured it out, they call upon God with prayers and lamentations, and sit in dust and ashes during the day. In the latter instance, after having poured it out, they shout "*Forgiven, forgiven,*" and changing their apparel greet each other, and pass immediately from mourning to mirth. (See 1 Sam. vii. 6; Levit. xxiii. 27, xxv. 9.) On *the feast of tabernacles* also they twice pour out water: the first time toward their own dwellings, saying, "Do thou, O Lord, pour out thy blessing on us;" the second time toward the nations, saying, "Pour out thine indignation upon all the heathen, that they may know that thou art the God of Israel." Their mode also of performing circumcision, and their customs at funerals, weddings, and births are all more primitive than those of the Jews in such cases. (2.) A second peculiarity is, that the Jews throughout the world observe festivals of which the Israelites of Daghistan are entirely ignorant. The latter know nothing of the feast of *Inauguration,* which celebrates the rebuilding of the temple;[1] neither do they observe the fast of the *tenth month* in remembrance of the attack on Jerusalem by the Chaldeans; nor that of the fourth month for the destruction of Jerusalem by the same; nor that of the *fifth* month for the burning of the temple; nor that of the *seventh* month in memory of Gedaliah's murder, &c. (See Zech. vii. 3—5, viii. 19, and compare Jeremiah lii. 6, 7, xli. 4.) The rabbinical laws for ablutions, and for killing and cooking meat, important features of Judaism, are equally unknown to them. (3.) A third peculiarity is the existence of corrupt observances among them *not* practised by the Jews, such as their tearing and cutting themselves for the dead; their offering sacrifice on occasion of the passover in places not appointed by the Lord, &c. (4.) The fourth peculiarity regards their *books*, which are entirely manuscript;—a printed book never having been seen by them until the Russians conquered Georgia. Of the sacred writings they possess only the Pentateuch, excepting part of the book of Esther. Their copies are in the *ancient* Hebrew or Aramean character, (not the Chaldaic, as are those of the Jews,) and have no divisions of sentences, no points, neither the portions supposed to have been supplied by Ezra.[2]

Mr. Samuel concludes of other Israelites, in the countries bordering on the Caspian, (as those of Kakhete, Imirite, Gooriel, and Mingrelia) that they are of the ten tribes; though their peculiar characteristics, owing to the Jews having of late years obtained access to them, and introduced their books, are not in all points so free from admixture as in the case of the Israelites of Daghistan.

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[1] Josephus ascribes its origin to the purification of the temple after it was profaned by Antiochus.

[2] *The Remnant Found;* by the Rev. J. Samuel; Hatchards, 1841.

The information which Dr. Wolff obtained, when in Affghanistan a few years since, is likewise important. He was informed by the Jews of Bokhara that they had removed to that city from Samarcand, when the latter place fell into ruins; and that on their arrival at Bokhara they found there Israelites who possessed their genealogies, and who ultimately emigrated to China, taking these records with them.[1] Dr. Wolff had likewise reason to conclude that the Israelites of Meshed were of the ten tribes, from their ignorance of the Talmud, and entire freedom from prejudice against Jesus of Nazareth;—characteristics indeed which belong to the Israelites of Toorkestaun and Khorossaun in general.[2] Those of Meshed further assured him, that at Candahar there are descendants of Simeon, also of Joseph (i. e. of Ephraim and Manasseh,) though they were outwardly conformed to Islamism;[3] and he himself, when in Arabia, met with Israelites who declared themselves, and were believed by the Jews, to be of the tribe of Dan. Their usual residence was near Terim in Hatramawt.

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[1] Wolff's Journal, 1831-4. p. 186—194. *Bokhara* and *Balk* are, according to the traditions both of the natives of Toorkestaun and also of the Israelites of that country, the *Halah* and *Habor* of scripture.

[2] Ibid. p. 159. Mr. Samuel also bears testimony to the simple character of the Israelites of these regions in general, and of their freedom from rabbinical prejudices. (Appeal, p. 12.)

[3] Ibid. p. 134. The same people believed the Affghans to be descended from the ten tribes; an opinion which Jews would be slow to give of those who were living as Gentiles, unless they had irresistible reasons for so concluding. Sir William Jones, and the missionaries Carey and Marshman, notice the great affinity of the Pushtoo or Affghan language with the Hebrew; (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 336.) but M. S. Elphinstone, Esq. denies the affinity, and Dr. Wolff was unable to discover it.

China is so extensive an empire that there may be numerous colonies of Israelites within it unknown to Europeans. The only one with which we are acquainted is at *Cai-fong-fou*, the capital of Honan, of which it is doubtful whether they are of Judah or Ephraim. Their own account of themselves is, that they settled at Cai-fong-fou about A.D. 73; but that they arrived in China during the dynasty of Tcheou, which was from B.C. 1122 to B.C. 249. They have no enmity to Jesus; they do not possess the prophets of the captivity, Daniel and Ezekiel; neither have they the vowel points in their manuscripts; but they have them in their books, which together with the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Maccabees they say they received from the western Jews. Their own tradition is, that they emigrated from Persia.[1]

In regard to the Israelites of Hindostan the testimony is conflicting, arising apparently from the circumstance of those of Cochin and of other parts of the Malabar coast being confounded with each other, and with those in the neighbourhood of Bombay:[2] for there appear to be three distinct classes at Cochin; viz. the black Jews, the white Jews, and the proselytes from among the natives made by both parties; and these again are distinct from the Beni Israel of Bombay. Dr. Buchanan concluded that the Cochin

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[1] See the notes of Gabriel Brotier to Book v. of Tacitus. He derived his information from the Jesuit missionaries Gozani, Domenge, &c.

[2] The Jews of China state that those of Cochin went thither from them; Mr. Samuel, on the contrary, states (but without any alleged authority,) that those of China went from Cochin. (Remnant Found, p. 116.) They are scattered on the Malabar coast, from Cochin northward to Cannanore.

Jews were of the fugitives who escaped from Titus; and before him Dr. Kennicott quoted from Wolfius a similar account, which the latter had received from a Jew named Moses Pereyra. On the other hand the black Jews say of themselves that they came from Media; and Mr. Forbes, when at Cochin, was assured by the Jews there, that there were Israelites on the Malabar coast of the tribe of Manasseh. Dr. Nicolayson saw at Jerusalem a narrative taken from a Dutch manuscript, (formerly belonging to Marcellus Bless, a governor of India under the Dutch East India Company, who received it from a converted Jew named Vandok,) in which it is stated that the Cochin Jews are descendants of the ten tribes carried away by Shalmanesar; and the researches of Mr. Moses Sargon in 1823, and those of Mr. Jarrett more recently, have led them to the belief, that the Israelites about Cannanore are of the ten tribes. These latter observe idolatrous customs, especially the worship of a silver serpent with a golden egg; but they observe the Jewish sabbath and the great day of expiation. Those of Cochin are not idolatrous, and are generally upright in their dealings. The Beni Israel around Bombay are represented by some as combining the vices of the worst European Jews with the profligacy of the Hindoos; and they all likewise have the image of the serpent, which they privately worship. Mr. Samuel considers that they have nothing in common with Jews except abstinence from things strangled and from blood, together with the rite of circumcision, which he conceives to be of Musselman origin: Dr. Wolff nevertheless felt persuaded that they were of the ten tribes.[1]

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[1] Buchanan's Researches in India; Kennicott's Coll. of Heb. MSS;

The Israelites of Abyssinia may be likewise mentioned; of whom however little satisfactory is known, on account of their great shyness of communicating with strangers. Some have supposed them to be Abyssinian converts to Judaism by Menelaus, or Menelech, a son of Solomon by the far-famed queen of Sheba: but the name of *Falasha* (or *strangers*) given to them by the Abyssinians, contradicts this hypothesis. They are very ignorant, and constantly plundered by the natives, by whom they are unjustly accounted sorcerers and wizards. The circumstance that they change their apparel and wash, after having received Christians into their houses, looks more like customs and prejudices derived from pharisaical times, than from the age of Solomon.[1]

A wide field of conjecture has been opened concerning the origin of certain nations, besides the Tartars, which have been concluded to be Israelitish; but until the priest intimated by Ezra (chap. ii. 62,)

Forbes's Oriental Memoirs; Wolff's Journal for 1831-4, p. 194; Samuel's Remnant Found, p. 113; Report of Rev. K. Bardwell to American Jews' Society for 1821; Communications of Messrs. Nicolayson, Sargon, Jarrett and others, Jew. Exp. 1819, 1820, 1828.—A remarkable circumstance is stated by Fabricius from V. C. Armandi, tom. xii. f. 263. viz. that he was informed by a Mr. Long, one of the East India Company's chaplains from Madras, concerning "les *Gentouses*, peuple d'Orient, que leur coutumes et d'autres choses sont croire a des personnes tres judicieuses, etre descendu de ces Juifs qui ne retournerent point de la Captivité; que ces Gentouses, dis-je, ont à Chillembrum pres de Porto Novo, sur le coté de Coromandle, un temple qu'ils appellent le temple de *Zuliman*, auquel ils se rendent avec le même devotion que les Juifs marquoient autre fois pour le temple de Jerusalem, et qui est divisé en cours, de la même maniere, et sur le même plan que le temple de Jerusalem paroit aupres du P. Launy." It would be pleasing to have this statement corroborated by more recent testimony. (Fabricii Bibliographia Antiq. p. 19).

[1] Benj. Tud. Itinerarium; Gobat's Residence in Abyssinia. It may be here added that Mungo Park was informed that there were Jews at Timbuctoo.

shall arise up to declare the descent of those who have lost their genealogies, little that is satisfactory can result from the inquiry. The Hindoos, the American Indians, the ancient British and Irish, the Saxons and the Laplanders have otherwise all had a claim put in for them to this honour.[1] Sufficient has been said to prove that there exist actual traces of the existence of portions of the ten tribes; and to afford a reasonable presumption, that, when those regions already named come to be better known, more will be discovered.

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[1] As the Tartars have been mentioned, this subject ought not to be dismissed without some notice of the American Indians, who are supposed likewise to have had some connexion with the Tartars. Dr. Robertson says, in his History of America, " that the Mexicans in describing the appearance of their progenitors, and their manners and habits of life, exactly delineate those of the rude Tartars, from whom I suppose them to have sprung." (Bk. iv. p. 49.) Others have maintained that America was first peopled by Tartars, who passed over by the straits of Anian, or Behring's straits. The second class of writers suppose the American Indians to be more directly Israelites. The late T. M. Dickenson, Esq. of Bombay, in a paper read before the Asiatic Society, states that this opinion was first suggested by a Mr. Winslow, a commercial agent in New England, about A.D. 1549. Montesini Aharon Levi however, (otherwise Antonia de Montesinos) a Spaniard of Jewish descent, who had been in America, strongly contends for this origin, in his *Relacion*, &c. printed 1644. From him Rabbi Manasseh largely quotes in his *Spes Israelis*, published in 1650, and translated into English by Moses Wall. In the same year Thomas Thorowgood, a member of the assembly of divines, published his " *Jews in America*," &c. in which he maintains the same hypothesis, as does James Adair, Esq. who was a trader among them for forty years, in his " *History of the American Indians*," 1775. Dr. Elias Boudinot, Dr. Beatty, William Penn, and several others who have had intercourse with these Indians, have also asserted the same. The opinion has been treated with levity by others, who have either never been in America, or are but slightly acquainted with that immense country; in addition to which some of the customs alleged are now wearing away, more especially among the Indians of North America. These do not now practise *circumcision*, but Dr. Beatty asserts that the Indians of Ohio assured him it was practised among them in their memory. Grotius affirms the same, (De Veritate, Lib. i. c. xvi.) and likewise Peter Martyr, (Decad. cap. iv.) Fabricius adduces George Horne, testifying to their frequent use of the word *Alleluia;* (Præfatio ad libros iv. de Originibus Americanis,) which some of those instanced above also allege; and that they call themselves the be-

It remains to be observed, that Israel is not only destined to be restored, and to have a glory and dominion in the world such as never yet has been enjoyed by the most powerful of the rulers of what have been called *universal empires ;* but that they are to inflict a terrible retribution on those nations which have persecuted and afflicted them, who will be broken in pieces and destroyed.[1] The wisdom both of nations and of individuals is therefore to endeavour in the meanwhile to avert the just indignation of the Almighty, by speaking comfortably to

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loved and peculiar people of *Yehowah,* under whose protection they say their ancestors lived, and were directed by his prophets. Mr. Adair gives many examples of words which are Hebrew both in sound and signification ; as their chief legislators, whom they call *Mohawks, Mhohek* in Hebrew being a lawgiver and superior. Mr. Faber also notices in his " Judah and Israel," of the word *Ishtoallo,* by which they designate their chief priest, and *Sagan* his attendant, that *Sagan* is the name by which the Jews called the high priest's deputy, and that *Ishtoallo* is probably a corruption of *Ish-di-Eloah,* a man of God ; see 2 Kings iv. 21, &c. William Penn declares that some tribes were so Jewish in countenance, that a man might fancy himself in Duke's Place in London ; (Letter to the Society of Traders in Pennsylvania ;) and that they reckoned by moons, offered their first fruits, and observed a feast somewhat like the Jewish feast of *Tabernacles.* Joseph de S. Therenia mentions a feast observed by them which they call *Parasce.* (Hist. belli Brasiliensis.) Rabbi Manasseh states that they sacrifice a *lamb* and distribute it; that in Mexico a jubilee was observed every fifty years; and that the women of Nicaragua cannot enter the temples after child birth until they are purified. Calmet notices that many animals are also held unclean, as the owl, bat, raven, &c. ; that they raise seed to a deceased brother, and cut out the sinewy part of the thigh. An interesting work called *The Star in the West,* or the *Hope of Israel* has recently been published by Barbara Ann Simon, in which many other particulars are enumerated, and much information given relative to the Indians of America.

[1] The reader is referred for proofs of this to Isaiah xxxiv ; xli. 14—16 ; lix. 16—21. Jer. li. 20. Ezek. xxviii. 24—26. Haggai ii. 21—23. Micah iv. 13 ; v. 8. Zech. ii. 11—13 ; x.—xiv, and to my *Elements of Prophetical Interpretation,* pages 278—287, wherein these things are more largely inquired into.

Jerusalem, and promoting by all lawful means their spiritual and temporal welfare: for the scripture concerning Israel will presently be found to be yet in force, as it has ever been in time past: "*Blessed* is he that blesseth thee; and *cursed* is he that curseth thee." (Numb. xxiv. 9.)

THE END.

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